PAPERS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Vol. VIII

PRINTED FOR THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE FACULTY OF ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND LETTERS, AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF BY

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PREFACE

THE eighth volume of the *Papers of the British School at Rome* has been produced under circumstances, perhaps, of greater difficulty than any of its predecessors. The prolongation of the war, and, still more the extension of the obligation of military service to nearly every man who is able to perform it, have inevitably led to the temporary abandonment of very many of the ordinary activities of the School.

Our best efforts have been devoted to the overcoming of these difficulties: but the impossibility of discussing doubtful points with the authors of the various papers, and the inevitable delays to correspondence, have doubtless produced imperfections for which more excuse would be necessary, were it not that in these days everything must give way to one imperious necessity. One great satisfaction we have—that these days of trouble and stress which we are sharing with our Italian allies will greatly strengthen the bonds that unite the School with the country which gives it hospitality, and that we shall, when the war is over, co-operate in the pursuits of peace with a deeper community of feeling and a fuller sympathy.

To turn to the volume itself, it may be noticed that the first paper is the result of the collaboration of a student of the Archaeological Faculty with the first Rome Scholar of the Architectural Faculty in the study of an important group of terra-cottas from Falerii, now preserved in the Museo di Villa Giulia, close to the new home of the School. Such co-operation may undoubtedly be expected in an increased degree in the

future, and may add to our satisfaction in the enlargement of the activities and scope of the School.

The second paper is a brief continuation of a paper by the Director which appeared in vol. vii., in which drawings of ancient paintings at Holkham, Chatsworth and elsewhere are dealt with. In the third paper, also by the Director, an attempt is made to sketch the history of that splendid and historic building, the Palazzo Odescalchi, an apartment in which has been the home of the School from its inception until July, 1915, and which will always be associated with its early days.

The fourth paper, by the Assistant Director, is, again, a continuation of work in vol. vii., and in it some other important fragments of ancient paintings in Rome are published and for the first time adequately illustrated (through the generosity of Mr. Robert Mond) with coloured plates after drawings by Mr. F. G. Newton.

The fifth and last paper is the first-fruits of a pilgrimage made, *more Apostolico*, by the Director and Mr. Robert Gardner in Samnium and Apulia in 1913, along the lines of the Via Appia and Via Traiana. Mr. Beaumont (whose paper on the Forum of Nerva must still perforce be withheld) accompanied them along the line of the former road. Mr. Gardner had intended to complete his studies of the Roman conquest of South Italy in its relation to the development of the road system in 1914–15; and it is hoped that this important piece of work may be resumed at a more favourable opportunity.

THOMAS ASHBY,
Director.

26th August, 1916.

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PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL VIII. No. 1.

ARCHITECTURAL TERRA-COTTAS FROM TWO TEMPLES AT FALERII VETERES.

(PLATES I., II.)

BY MARY TAYLOR, IN COLLABORATION WITH H. C. BRADSHAW.[1]

THE following paper is based on notes and studies made in the session 1914–15 during my tenure of the Gilchrist Studentship at the British School at Rome. It is a first, though necessarily incomplete, attempt to reconstruct out of the fragments preserved at the Museo di Villa Giulia the picture of one at least of the temples that were once the glory of Falerii.

I have to thank Dr. Ashby, Director of the British School in Rome, for his guidance in questions of the topography of Falerii, and Mrs. Arthur Strong, Assistant Director, for drawing my attention in the first instance to the subject of terra-cottas,[2] and for the help and encouragement she has all along given to this paper. I was fortunate in finding a collaborator in Mr. H. C. Bradshaw, first Rome Scholar of the Architectural Faculty of the School. To him I owe, besides the fine drawings which accompany my paper, valuable help in the sorting and examination

[1] The Committee of the Faculty of Archaeology, etc., have to thank the Faculty of Architecture and its Chairman, Mr. Reginald Blomfield, for permission to reproduce Mr. H. C. Bradshaw's drawings in Plates I. and II.

[2] See her article in *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. iv. 1914, p. 157 ff.

of the fragments. I also wish to record my debt to Professor Alessandro della Seta, of the University of Genoa, who during his tenure of office at the Museo di Villa Giulia was largely responsible for the present re-arrangement of the terra-cottas. He has been good enough to send me valuable criticism on various points. Finally, the Director of the Museum, Professor Colini, and his assistants, Dr. Giglioli and Signorina Morpurgo, have shown me unfailing courtesy and given me much encouragement and many facilities for work.

Considering the large number of architectonic terra-cottas preserved, attempts to reconstitute their general effect on the temples they once decorated have been singularly few. The two most important contributions to our knowledge of ancient fictile decoration are probably Dr. Wiegand's illuminating paper on the terra-cottas from Cervetri at Ny-Carlsberg,[1] and Professor E. Rizzo's discussion of the terra-cotta model of a temple from Nemi,[2] both of which are indispensable to all students of the subject. The little temple put up by the late Count Cozza in the garden of the Museo di Villa Giulia on the model of the temple at Alatri is also peculiarly instructive, though it needs rectifying in several particulars. Mention should also be made of the two water-colour drawings in the British Museum (by Mr. R. Phené Spiers and Mr. Jackson respectively) of the entablature of the Temple at Civita Lavinia. Other reconstructions will be mentioned in the course of this article.

In the opinion of more than one competent architect decoration in terra-cotta, which had so important a function in ancient Italy and Rome, still has a future before it. I trust therefore that these notes, made clearer by Mr. Bradshaw's drawings and elevations, may not only prove of some utility to students of archaeology, but also serve as a guide to architects interested in the possible application of a similar method to modern building.

I.

Before discussing the terra-cottas it will be well to recapitulate briefly what is known of the temples of Falerii.

Of the many sites in S. Etruria and Latium which have yielded a

[1] *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, ed. Arndt, vol. ii. p. 1 ff. text.

[2] Rizzo, *Bull. Com.* 1910, 1911: 'Di un tempietto fittile di Nemi'—an excellent discussion of the construction and decoration of Etruscan temples, which will be frequently referred to in this article.

rich harvest of terra-cottas, none has been more fruitful than Civita Castellana[1] (the ancient Falerii). In point of fact this town, though on the Etruscan, not on the Umbrian side of the Tiber, did not belong to Etruria, but was one of the two principal cities of the 'ager Faliscus,' whose inhabitants, though united with Etruria in her struggle against Rome, were always recognised as distinct.

Civita Castellana[2] occupies one of the strongest natural positions in the central part of Italy. The undulating plateau on which the town stands is furrowed with deep ravines, three of which, on the N., E., and S. (that on the E. being traversed by the Treia, a stream of considerable size), serve as natural defences. On the W. the tableland extends for many miles, and here in ancient times a mound and a ditch were drawn across the narrowest point. The Faliscan city was itself divided into two parts, the city proper on the S.W., on the site of the modern Civita Castellana, and the somewhat higher acropolis on the N.E. connected with the town by a narrow neck of lower ground. The site of the ancient citadel is now under cultivation. Part of the wall of the Faliscan city still remains, and in places it is clear that the sides of the ravines were scarped to add to the natural strength of the position.

Remains of at least four important temples have been found at Falerii. Of these only the one identified as the temple of Juno Curitis,[3] which lies in a fork of the ravine to the N.E. of the acropolis, can boast either name or plan. The second is that commonly but erroneously known as the temple of Mercury,[4] fragments from which were found

[1] Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, Rev. Ed., 1878 (Reissued 1883). Vol. ii. chap. vii. p. 87 ff.

[2] Ashby in *Encycl. Brit.* v. Falerii; Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Falerii; Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i. 513, ii. 362 ff. Deecke, *Die Falisker*, gives the best résumé of what is known of the Faliscans from ancient historians.

[3] Some part of the ground-plan of the temple was discovered in 1886–7, and farther down the ravine to the S. a shrine with various votive objects came to light which make it practically certain that both shrine and temple were sacred to Juno Curitis, the great goddess of the Faliscans. Pasqui, *Not. Scavi*, 1887, p. 92 ff.; *A.J.A.* 1887, p. 41; Durm, *Baukunst der Etrusker und Römer*, p. 104. Ovid, *Am.* iii. 13, speaks of the steep slope and the grove which lay probably round the shrine.

[4] The remains had apparently fallen or been thrown down from the heights above. A short description of the terra-cotta remains is given by Mengarelli in *Not. Scavi*, 1911. The identification as a temple of Mercury rested on an inscription and on the fact that the central acroterion was a large terra-cotta figure of Mercury. G. Herbig in *Glotta*, 1913, has, however, shown that the inscription 'Tito Mercui Efiles'=not, as was thought, 'Tito Mercurio Epillius,' but 'Tito Merconia Epillii (uxor),' and consequently does not refer to Mercury at all. The temple must therefore remain nameless.

at the bottom of the ravine to the W. of Civita Castellana. The remains of the third temple were found on the acropolis,[1] together with part of a massive foundation wall. The fourth, with which I am principally concerned, is the so-called temple of Apollo inside the city. This name is arbitrary and is due to the current identification of the central figure of the pediment with Apollo. Even were this identification fully supported by evidence, it would be dangerous to assume that the god in the centre must be the patron of the temple, when we remember that in Greek temples the subject of the pediment was by no means always connected with the god to whom the temple was dedicated.[2] Further, as we shall see later, the remains usually spoken of as coming from the temple of Apollo belong in reality to two temples distinct in size and date, though possibly occupying the same site.

These pieces, consisting almost entirely of terra-cotta fragments of the Hellenistic period, were found during excavations, undertaken in 1886–1887 by the late Count Cozza[3] in Contrada Lo Scasato, a piece of ground towards the apex of the triangle formed by the ravines to the S.E. of the modern town and crossed by a public road. The site is now partly occupied by a factory and partly under cultivation, and all ancient traces have been obliterated.

Except for two small fragments of wall, the one consisting of two courses of tufa blocks about 40 cm. high near the N.W. angle of the temple, and the other probably part of the S.W. angle, no traces of any ground plan came to light. These fragments are, however, enough to give the approximate length of the façade, which must have been fairly large for an Etruscan building. Cozza himself left no record of any measurement made between the two fragments, and when a short time ago Professor Della Seta undertook a second excavation of the site in the hope of finding some trace of the ground plan, not even the blocks described by Cozza could be discovered.

Besides these pieces of wall, the first excavation brought to light a large pit of the same period as the temple, 13 m. square, cut in the rock,

[1] The large temple from Contrada Vignale. The terra-cottas from all these temples are in the Museo di Villa Giulia.

[2] Furtwängler, *Heiligtum der Aphaia*, Text, p. 310.

[3] Pasqui, *Not. Scavi*, 1887, p. 137 ff.; Cozza, *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 414 ff. Cozza's description of the excavations and remains, especially of the architectural terra-cottas, is extremely valuable.

to which two flights of steps led down on the N. and W. North of this pit ran a passage 2·50 m. × 80 m. to the edge of the cliff, parallel with what must have been the temple façade. In the middle of this passage was a kind of sluice-gate, and this elaborate arrangement Cozza connected with the draining of the temple. He also excavated various small pits of periods before and after the date of the temple, filled with early Etruscan and mediaeval pottery.

Fragments of terra-cotta all of the Hellenistic period were found scattered over the whole area, especially in the large pit, where they were piled up in confusion. These included pieces of pedimental figures, various sets of antefixes, and ornamental friezes in relief, etc. mixed with blocks of tufa from the temple walls, drums of columns and other materials.

These remains Cozza divided, and in the main rightly, into two groups, from a larger and a smaller temple. But he was mistaken in assigning the pedimental figures to the larger temple, to which both from size and style they cannot belong, and in separating them from a series of antefixes of exactly similar workmanship. Careful measurement and reconstruction[1] show that while the existing ornament forms a complete and harmonious system of protection and decoration for the wooden epistyle of a temple about 17 m.[2] wide, the pedimental figures would be lost in the tympanum of such a large temple and are suitable to a building of little more than half the size. Again, the style of the figures is entirely different from that of the decorations of the large temple, being earlier fourth-third century B.C. as compared with third-second century B.C., and of a much higher order of merit. This last point makes it improbable that the temples were contemporary and both prior to the destruction of Falerii by the Romans in 241 B.C. It is unlikely that the greater care should have been lavished on what would have been quite an unimportant edifice had the large temple existed at the time. Further, in the case of the large temple, some of the friezes used for the covering of the wooden beams are of a character that would be extraordinary, if not impossible, as early as 241 B.C. The fact that remains of architectural terra-cottas from the smaller temple, apart from the pedimental figures and antefixes which could not so easily be made use of, are non-existent, except for a very few fragments to be noted later,

[1] See Plate I. [2] For this measurement see below, p. 30.

is easily explained when we remember how easily such pieces, and notably the tiles, could be used on other buildings. On the other hand, the existence of so many members of all sorts from the larger temple indicates that it remained in use till the fashion for terra-cotta decoration of that kind had passed.

II.

At this point it will be convenient to give some description of the various extant fragments from the two temples.

A.—SMALLER TEMPLE, FOURTH-THIRD CENTURY B.C.

I.—*Pedimental Figures.*

These figures have been mentioned occasionally as examples of terra-cotta sculpture, though not as often as their merits deserve.[1] The fullest description of the principal pieces is that by M. Deonna [2] in his book on terra-cotta statues, where a more detailed account may be found. Quite recently Mrs. Strong has discussed their artistic value in the article already referred to.[3]

The figures are about two-thirds life size, of a yellowish clay (which in some places has weathered to grey) mixed with a coarse crystalline sand. They are freely and vigorously modelled, the nude being worked first and the hair and drapery added later. From the fact that the heads and the fragments of the upper parts of the body are in the round, while the pieces of feet and drapery are in relief, it seems certain that the figures were worked in two parts, the upper in the round and the lower in relief. This view is confirmed by the way in which the torso of the so-called Apollo ends off the hips in a straight fracture.

The surface, and consequently the polychromy, of many of the fragments are well preserved. As in the archaic period, the prevailing colours are red, black, and yellowish-white, though auxiliary colours and variations of shade are employed in details with good effect. The

[1] Martha, *L'Art Etrusque*, pp. 174, 298; *A.J.A.* 1887, p. 464; Courbaud, *Bas-Relief Romain*, p. 41; Borrmann, *Die Keramik in der Baukunst*, p. 42.

[2] Deonna, *Statues en terre-cuite*, p. 113 ff.

[3] *J.R.S.* 1914, p. 157 ff. For the polychromy of the various pieces see my note at the end of the article. Readers are referred to the above article for illustrations of the principal fragments, which are not given here.

red is used for the nude of the male figures, the white for that of the female, while the black, which varies to a dark red, serves for the hair and most of the drapery. The background of the parts in relief was, as far as can be seen, a dark indigo blue.

The character of the pediment has been called eclectic, and probably the artist drew freely from the current repertories of types.[1]

The date usually assigned to the pieces is the early third[2] century B.C., though the late fourth century[3] has also been suggested. In any case they belong to Faliscan Falerii before its destruction by Rome in 241 B.C.

A number of the smaller terra-cottas are published for the first time in this article (Figs. 5, 8, 9, 10). For the rest, I shall refer to the illustrations in M. Deonna's book and in Mrs. Strong's article,[4] only reproducing one or two of the most important of the figures which are already known.

1.[5] Upper part of seated male figure (so-called Apollo) (Fig. 1).

Height 56 cm. Head and torso in the round, put together from several pieces. Missing, most of the back, r. arm, l. arm from elbow, part of back of head. In spite of much restoration, it is certain that the torso ended in a straight fracture just below the waist, suggesting, as has been said above, that the lower part was modelled separately. The body is broad and muscular and slightly bent at the waist. Probably the figure was seated on a high throne with drapery round the lower limbs, in a position like that of Jupiter in one of the pediments from Luni further referred to below (p. 18).

The head is slightly raised and turned to the right, and is closely

[1] Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 3, p. 34. Dr. Weege, who is responsible for the part of Helbig's *Führer*, 3rd ed., dealing with the antiquities in the Villa Giulia, is disposed to see the influence of Leochares throughout.

[2] Cozza, *Not. Scavi*, 1888; Deonna, *op. cit.* p. 116.

[3] Graillot, *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1896, p. 162. The eclecticism of the pediment is a strong argument against so early a date, which is suggested by the excellence of the workmanship. We should remember Damophon, until recently placed from his style in the fourth century.

[4] Figs. 1, 2, 4, 6 are repeated from her paper by kind permission of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

[5] Cozza, *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 419; Deonna, *op. cit.* p. 116, gives a fuller description, also *Rev. Arch.* ii. 1906, p. 405; Helbig, *Führer* ii[3]. 1784 a; Strong, *J.R.S.* 1914, Pl. XXIX. Fig. 1.

related to the Alexander type. The face is square, the eyes deep-set, the mouth half-open. The hair, abundant and leonine, covers the nape of the neck and above the forehead spring the two symmetrical locks so characteristic of portraits of Alexander. Here, of course, there is

FIG. 1.—UPPER PART OF SEATED MALE FIGURE (SO-CALLED APOLLO).

no question of real portraiture, but rather of the use of an idealised type to represent a god who can hardly be other than Apollo or Helios, and is probably the former.

Bernoulli[1] brings our figure into relation with the Alexander Rondanini at Munich, especially in the treatment of the hair. It has also much in common with the Alexander at Chatsworth and the Alexander-Helios in the Capitoline Museum. Perhaps, however, as far as can be seen from photographs, it is still nearer to the statue[2] lately found at Cyrene, representing (as the horse's head at his side shows) Alexander as a Dioscurus. But the terra-cotta surpasses all these works of marble sculpture in fire and vigour, though owing to its humble material[3] it has never gained the consideration it deserves.

2.[4] Upper part of youthful male figure (Fig. 2).

H. 65 cm. Restored from many pieces and still very fragmentary. Missing r. shoulder with large piece across the back, l. side from just below shoulder, body and legs from waist down except for a small piece giving part of the abdomen with the navel. Restored, l. side of head, lower part of face and neck. A piece giving most of the missing part of the face—including the end of the nose, the mouth and the chin—was lately found, but, as it merely confirmed the accuracy of Cozza's restoration, it has never been inserted and now lies beside the statue.

The head is bent slightly forward and to the left. The youthful face shows the characteristics of the school of Praxiteles. The hair is worked in short, slightly curling locks growing back from the forehead. The torso is more soft and youthful than that of the Apollo, but still athletic. The figure bends to the left, and the r. arm seems to have been held slightly in front of the body.

At the time of the excavation Pasqui[5] attributed the following fragments to this statue :—

(*a*) Part of a left thigh.

(*b*) A bent arm broken above the elbow.

(*c*) The broken hilt of a sword partly drawn from its sheath on which remains the forefinger of a l. hand.

[1] Bernoulli, *Die Erhaltene Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen*, p. 57, note 3.

[2] Mariani, *Rendiconti*, xxiv. 1915, pp. 1–7 and Plates I., II.

[3] The same is true of the Fortnum head (mentioned below) in the Ashmolean Museum, and a fine terra-cotta head from Antemnae in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Helbig, i. p. 348, r., both probably from tomb monuments. These are of greater artistic value than many works in marble that have been repeatedly published.

[4] Cozza, *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 418 ; Deonna, *op. cit.* p. 127 ff. ; *Rev. Arch.* 1906, ii. p. 406 ; Helbig, *Führer*, ii[3]. 1784 b ; Strong, *J.R.S.* 1914, Pl. XXIX. Fig. 2.

[5] Pasqui, *Not. Scavi*, 1887, p. 138 ff.

(*d*) A l. leg, 35 cm. long, broken below the knee.

(*e*) Various fragments of drapery passing across a r. thigh.

With the aid of these he suggested a restoration in which the figure would have held the sword against his breast ; but M. Deonna has justly

FIG. 2.—UPPER PART OF YOUTHFUL MALE FIGURE.

pointed out that the sword motive does not suit the dreamy expression of the boy. Cozza also, while suggesting that some of the fragments found near the head may belong to the figure, abandoned in his restoration the idea of using the fragments mentioned by Pasqui.

Marks of attachment on the figure's l. shoulder suggest that it was combined with another figure to the left who stood with his l. arm round the shoulders of our ephebe, in a pose approximating to that of the Ildefonso group.[1] Furthermore, the figure to the r. in the Ildefonso group is in almost exactly the same position as the terra-cotta, which is thus an example of one of these pensive types which, while due in the first instance to the influence of Praxiteles, can trace their descent through him to the works of Polyclitus.

FIG. 3.—FRAGMENT OF GROUP OF TWO WOMEN.

3. Lower part of a group of two women[2] (Fig. 3).

H. 35 cm., W. 42 cm.; three feet, in high relief partly covered with drapery, standing on a plinth. Between the two feet to the l. is a hole for fixing the group to the tympanum. From analogy with the other statues the upper part was probably in the round. The two feet to the r. belong to a figure standing with her left foot crossed over her

[1] It has been so restored in the sketch (Fig. 7), giving a tentative reconstruction of the pediment.

[2] Deonna, *op. cit.* p. 124 ff.; Helbig, *Führer*, ii³. 1784 c.

right, and leaning on her companion, in the pose common both in free statues and in reliefs, especially in the case of Muses[1] and in vase paintings of the Meidiac and later styles.

This position, uncombined with another figure, is found in the case of two female figures from the antefixes, and also in the pedimental figure of a goddess from the temple of Juno Curitis.[2] Another example is the lower part of a group of two female figures from Tivoli[3] now in the Museo Gregoriano.

Two female heads only were found at the time of excavation; and as they would suit the positions they might occupy did they belong to this group, they are combined with them in the attempt at restoration. There is no evidence for more than two female figures in the pediment, though it is quite possible that some figures have entirely disappeared.

4. Female head[4] (Fig. 4).

H. 20·5 cm. On the whole well-preserved and carefully modelled, especially on the l. side. On the top of the head is a small hole probably to allow the moisture to escape in baking. Lower down at the back on the r. a piece is broken away. The inside is partly filled with greyish lime. The head must have been bent slightly to the l. On the l. side the hair is worked in long strokes waving back and drawn into a knot high up at the back. On the right the treatment is sketchy. In the hair is a diadem with a triangular piece in front. On the cheek in front of the ear is an incised curl. The less careful work on the right indicates that the head was to be seen three-quarter face or in profile to the l.

Deonna compares this head with that of one of the female statues from the later terra-cotta pediment now in the Conservatori Museum[5] which has a similar diadem and arrangement of hair. The execution is, however, much coarser than in our head.

[1] S. Reinach, *Rép. de la Statuaire* i. 149, 260, 273, 277, 279, etc.; S. Reinach, *Rép. de Reliefs*, ii. 299, iii. 99, 135, etc. Also in the case of Clotho in groups of the Fates on Roman sarcophagi.

[2] Deonna, p. 134; Strong, *loc. cit.* Pl. 41.

[3] Deonna, p. 179.

[4] Pasqui, *Not. Scavi*, 1887, p. 138; Cozza, *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 418; Deonna, p. 121 ff.; *Rev. Arch.* 1906, ii. p. 406; Helbig, *Führer*, ii³. 1784 f.; Strong, *loc. cit.* Pl. XXX. Fig. 2.

[5] Deonna, p. 171, No. 7.

This style of dressing the hair first appears in sculpture at the end of the fourth century,[1] and is continued till much later. The curl in front of the ear, which is characteristic of some of the heads from this pediment, comes in about the same date and is common in female statues of the school of Praxiteles though by no means confined to them.

FIG. 4.—FEMALE HEAD.

On the whole the type to which our head most nearly approaches is that represented by the Aphrodite of Capua, the 'Fanciulla d'Anzio,' and the Eros[2] bending his bow.

[1] S. Reinach, *Recueil de têtes*, 188, 189.

[2] Amelung, *Ausonia* iii. 1908, p. 133; cf. E. Strong, *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, p. 78.

5. Fragment of female head[1] (Fig. 5, c).

Lower part of face from root of nose. A similar type to the preceding, but the working is better on the r. side, showing that it should be seen three-quarter face in profile to the r.

As has been suggested above these two heads may possibly belong to the feet in relief. In that case, this fragment will belong to the figure to the l. and the preceding head to the figure on the r.

To this group the following fragments may also belong[2]:—

(*a*) Part of a female hand grasping a round object.

(*b*) Female r. forearm and part of hand—round wrist a snake bracelet. Bar of clay for attachment on inside.

(*c*) Drapery with a band. The folds show that there must have been a second band below. It is, therefore, an example of double girding.

A B C D

FIG. 5.—TERRA-COTTA FRAGMENTS.

6. Male head[3] (Fig. 6).

H. 21·5 cm. Complete with neck in front, and very well preserved. Back very rough. Missing, nose, part of back of head and hair on l. side. At break of nose is a small lump of clay, the artist's first indication of the nose on the rough core. The preservation of the surface of the face is excellent. The modelling is more finished on r. The

[1] Cozza, *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 418; Deonna, p. 123.

[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 418.

[3] Cozza, *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 419; Deonna, p. 125; *Rev. Arch.* 1906, ii. p. 406; Helbig, *Führer*, ii³. 1784 e; Strong, *loc. cit.* Pl. XXX. Fig. 1.

head was therefore turned somewhat to the l. The hair grows in short locks all over the head; the neck is thick and muscular; the head is bent to the l. and thrown back.

In many respects this head is comparable with that of the so-called Apollo—in its massive proportions, its deep-set eyes with their upward

FIG. 6.—MALE HEAD.

gaze, and in the symmetrical locks growing back from the forehead. But here the characteristics of the school of Scopas are much more marked, especially the more restrained though vigorous treatment of the hair and the great pathos of expression.

Deonna[1] compares the terra-cotta head from the Esquiline, now in the Ashmolean Museum (Fortnum Coll.), which is also strongly Scopaic in character. It is curious to think that the genuineness of this head was once doubted, for it is evident that the principles governing the workmanship of both pieces are identical.

Another head to which ours may be compared, except in the treatment of the hair, is the colossal[2] Alexander from Pergamum. The proportions of the two are very similar, though in the Pergamene head the pathos is intensified by a deep furrow across the brow.

A consideration of the heads to which ours stands nearest leads us to the conclusion that it is due rather to the type of Alexander produced under the influence of Scopas than to a creation of that master direct.

7. Fragmentary male head[3] (Fig. 5, B).

Three fragments giving face with ear and part of hair on r. Modelling equally careful on both sides, therefore to be seen full-face. Nose damaged by a piece split off from the forehead to the tip. The type is much the same as in the preceding head, but the working is softer and the expression gentler.

8. Fragment of draped male figure (Fig. 5, A).

L. shoulder with lower part of neck and part of chest and back. The body is muscular. The statue was dressed in a chiton and a himation or chlamys, both red, turning to purple. A bunch of folds at the armpit suggests that the figure was leaning on a staff or some other support.

9. Fragment of draped male figure (Fig. 5, D).

R. arm to elbow with r. half of chest and back to waist. A slight ridge running all along the top of the shoulder and the arm shows the torso was made in two parts and joined together. The figure was dressed in a chiton which from the folds must have been girt at the waist. (The back though in the round is quite rough.)

A piece of drapery falling in straight folds may belong to this figure, as the colours are the same in both—white and purple.

[1] Deonna, p. 187; *Rev. Arch.* 1906, ii. p. 405; *J.H.S.* 1886, p. 122, Plate A.

[2] *Antike Denkmäler*, ii. Taf. 48; Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 59.

[3] Pasqui, *Not. Scavi*, 1887, p. 138; Cozza, *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 419; Deonna, p. 132; Helbig, *Führer*, ii³. 1784 g.

The other fragments not already mentioned are :—

10. Lower lip and chin, apparently of a male figure from the shape, though the colour has disappeared.

11. Foot in boot, facing, in high relief. Rough piece of clay beneath sole for insertion into plinth.

12. Male r. elbow bent at right angles.

13. Part of the outside of a male l. foot with clay lump for attachment under sole.

14. Part of a male r. hand grasping some thin object as a spear or sceptre.

FIG. 7.

15 and 16. Part of a male shin in high relief, and of a male knee.[1]

The accompanying sketch (Fig. 7), based on Mr. Bradshaw's notes, gives a rough attempt at a reconstruction of the pedimental group, showing the so-called Apollo in the centre, with a group of two male figures on one side and two female figures on the other, and a reclining male figure towards each angle.[2] The gorgoneion over the mutule is described below.[3]

[1] Many of the fragments have unfortunately no inventory numbers, so it is impossible to give closer references.

[2] Reclining figures are found in the angles of the pediment of the temple on Samothrace, which is also of the Hellenistic period. Conze, Hauser, Niemann, *Die Archaeologische Ausgrabungen auf Samothrace*, vol. i. p. 26, Pl. XXXV., XXXVI.

[3] The drawing has been carried out with great skill and care by Mr. E. J. Lambert—but it has been purposely kept in the nature of a sketch.

Professor Della Seta justly objects that we have no proof that there were only seven figures in the pediment nor that the Apollo was in the middle. But with regard to the first point we have evidence for seven figures and not more, though it is very possible that some figures may have disappeared entirely. I have therefore thought it wiser to confine myself to the existing fragments, though perhaps one should add two standing figures in front of the two seated ones at the sides, making nine altogether. Again, we find the nearest analogy to our pediment in those from Luni[1] now in Florence—one of which has Jupiter on a high throne, flanked by various gods and goddesses, and the other Juno in a like position. The torso of the Apollo is in a pose very like that of the Jupiter and would be suitable to a figure on a high seat. Further, the expression of the head of the Apollo is far more exalted than that of any of the other heads, and the whole figure seems fitted for a central place.

In our pediment, as in those from Luni, the gods are apparently grouped together without any motive to explain their presence and bring them into connection with one another. They are not even represented as assisting at a scene of sacrifice, as are the gods in the terra-cotta pediment from the Esquiline now in the Conservatori Museum.

This absence of motive seems quite opposed to Greek pedimental construction, which from the earliest times aimed at embodying some action by which all the figures might be connected, till in the Pheidian period such an example of concentration of interest could be produced as the pediments of the Parthenon. Later we find that Greek construction becomes more careless—the figures are only loosely connected, and the action is reduced to a shadow of its former importance. It was at this time, with the new wave of Greek influence which spread over Etruria, and, indeed, over the whole of the ancient world, that we first find the practice of filling the tympanum of Etruscan temples with terra-cotta figures. So far no archaic[2] terra-cottas have been found in

[1] Milani, *Museo Italiano*, i. p. 89, plates, gives the earlier arrangement with all the figures in one pediment. This is corrected in the *Cat. R. Arch. Mus. Firenze*, p. 249, Pl. C. which gives the present arrangement with the figures divided into two pediments.

[2] Rizzo, *Bull. Com.* 1911, pp. 54 ff. The archaic fragments from Caere, conjectured to be pedimental, are too few to give any idea of their position. The torso of the warrior in the Conservatori Museum is in size and style so like the acroteria from Conca and from the so-called Mercury temple at Falerii that it is probably part of a similar ornament.

Italy, which must be necessarily pedimental. The pieces from Conca and various scale models of temples, notably the one from Nemi,[1] seem to show that the figure decoration was confined to the columen and the mutules. For reasons which have been never satisfactorily explained hitherto, the art of the Parthenon and of the fifth century generally does not seem to have appreciably influenced the art of Etruria and Central Italy; and by the time that in Latium this decoration expanded into the pediment, Greek pedimental construction was on the wane. Thus it is no more than natural that a craftsman working in Etruria should content himself with the simple juxtaposition of some of the types that were now the common property of all artists. This method, which keeps the pose while isolating the figure from the action which governs the pose, and so gives a succession of excited and interested figures without indicating any reason for excitement or interest, is responsible for the unsatisfactory effect which these pediments produce on the spectator. Still, we must bear in mind that what Della Seta calls the narrative (*esemplificativo*) method of Greek art, whereby the *deeds* of the gods were illustrated for the benefit and example of man, never had much hold outside Greece; and Latium, like Rome and Etruria, remained content with representing divinities, whether isolated or in groups, simply as present to protect and defend their worshippers and to receive their adoration.[2]

It does not seem of much use to attempt to identify the gods represented, but we may suggest that the current designation of Apollo[3] for the central figure is on the whole the most probable, with perhaps Leto and Artemis on the one side and the Dioscuri on the other. The draped figures may be other gods or possibly mortal worshippers or

[1] Ably discussed by Rizzo: see above, p. 2, note 2.

[2] It is instructive to compare in this respect the pediment of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as represented on a relief of Antonine date (Reinach, *Reliefs*, ii. pp. 2031–2), where the gods are grouped in frontal attitudes, with the animated action of the divinities in the pediments of the Parthenon.

[3] The god Soranus worshipped on Mt. Soracte in the 'Ager Faliscus' is identified with Apollo by Verg. *Aen.* xi. 785 (see Serv. *ad loc.*). The cults both of this god and of the great goddess Juno of Falerii are of Sabine origin, as the words 'hirpi' used of the worshippers of Soranus and 'Curitis' as epithet of Juno show. Roscher, *Lex.* Articles: *Soranus pater* with reff. (Wissowa), *Juno* with reff. (Roscher). The inscription found near Falerii (*Notizie Scavi*, 1899, p. 48; Dessau, *Inscr. Select.* 4034) is peculiarly important: *C. Varius Hermes | sancto Sorano | Apollini pro sal. | sua et fili sui et | patroni sui et | coniugis eius.*

attendants. These Graeco-Latin divinities, in spite of the animated expression on some of the faces, form on the whole a quiet and pleasing assemblage, more in the spirit of a 'sacra conversazione' of the early Renaissance than in that of the eager action expressed by so much Greek art of the middle period.

II.—*Antefixes.*

The antefixes are identical with the pedimental figures in style, workmanship, and polychromy, and are obviously by the same hand. They are modelled freely in relief, higher at the top than at the bottom, with the background cut away from the upper part; the finish is slightly more careless than in the larger figures. Unfortunately, though the fragments are numerous, it has not been found possible so far to restore any figure. The more important pieces are almost exclusively heads and lower parts giving the junction with the roll tile behind. The intermediate parts are all either missing or preserved only in very small fragments.

As far as one can judge from the remains, the antefixes consisted in most cases of single figures standing in various positions on a plinth about 24 cm. long, but we have also examples of a seated and of a reclining figure.

From the existing fragments it would appear that the standing figures usually lean against a pillar to their left; a scheme generally thought to have originated with Praxiteles. In the case of two female figures in this attitude the feet are crossed.[1] The types are of all kinds, satyrs, maenads, Sileni, heroes, and at least one Hermes. In some cases the antefixes seem to have been duplicated with slight variations, *e.g.* the two female figures mentioned below.

It seems unnecessary to give a list of all the fragments, but a few of the more important may be mentioned.

1. Upper part of female figure[2] dressed in chiton, H. 24, W. 12 cm. Missing, arms, body below waist. Body facing, head r.; unworked on l. where it is attached to the background, which has been cut away

[1] Cf. the group in the pediments, and the draped figure from the temple of Juno.

[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1887, p. 138. Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 1784 k; Strong, *loc. cit.* Fig. 22. For polychromy see my note at the end of Mrs. Strong's article.

round the figure. Slant of body shows figure must have been standing with feet crossed and leaning against some object.

2. Crossed feet of female figure[1] in similar position standing on plinth. H. 21 cm. Chiton is red.

3. Lower part of male figure.[2] H. 35, W. 20·5 cm. Nude with drapery to r. Body and legs are muscular; characterised as Mercury

FIG. 8.—MERCURY.

by winged boots. Fragment in corner on r. probably bottom of square pillar on which figure is leaning (Fig. 8).

4. Lower part of male figure. H. 28·5, W. 23 cm. In short tunic

[1] Helbig, *Führer*, 1784 h.
[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1887, p. 188; Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 1784 d.

gathered below hips into a belt. Similar pose to that of Mercury. Traces to r. of attachment of pillar now disappeared.

1 2 3

FIG. 9.—HEADS FROM THE ANTEFIXES.

5. Torso of male figure to be seen $\frac{3}{4}$ r. misshapen and fat; therefore probably a Silenus.

1 2 3

FIG. 10.—HEADS FROM THE ANTEFIXES.

6. Upper part of male figure.[1] Head in round though unfinished behind, body in relief with background cut away. The r. hand rested on the head. Usual type of a young satyr of Hellenistic date.

[1] Helbig, *Führer*, 1784 l.

7. Lower part of draped figure reclining on plinth. Apparently from colour of nude at waist male. On r. knee is paw of wild animal.

8. A series of heads from the antefixes.[1] Some obviously satyrs and maenads (Fig. 9, 2). A Silenus head and another bearded head wearing a pilos (Fig. 10, 1); also a beardless head of a hero (Fig. 9, 1). The heads are chiefly of Apollinine-Alexandroid type (Fig. 10, 2, 3).

Besides these fragments there are innumerable others too small to mention, and also larger pieces giving the lower part with the attachment of the roll-tile, but not sufficient to determine the pose of the figure.

III.—*Acroteria.*

The fragments of the acroteria from the angles of the pediment were not understood by Cozza, who described them as coming from a frieze of horses and chariots. The form of the back is peculiar; its lower part is flat, while the upper has a pattern of convex flutes curving inwards at the top. The reason for this lies in the fact that the lower parts of acroteria were applied against the sima at its end, while the upper parts projected above it.

The extant fragments are:—

1. Male figure from waist downwards in high relief, standing ¾ r. in chariot, on the underside of which traces of the attachment of the wheel can be seen, though the latter is completely broken away. Across the body are traces of drapery. The back of this piece shows the tongue moulding except for a small part at the bottom where the flat part begins (Figs. 11, 12, B).

2. Foreparts of two horses in high relief facing ¾ r. Heads missing; traces of attachment of another horse on either side, showing that the whole was a quadriga. Back has tongue pattern (Figs. 11, 12, C).

3. Fragment of upper part of hind legs of horses facing ¾ r.; back shows tongue pattern (Figs. 11, 12, D).

4. Hindlegs of two horses facing l. Back is flat (Figs. 11, 12, A).

5. A few fragments of heads and feet of horses facing r. and l.

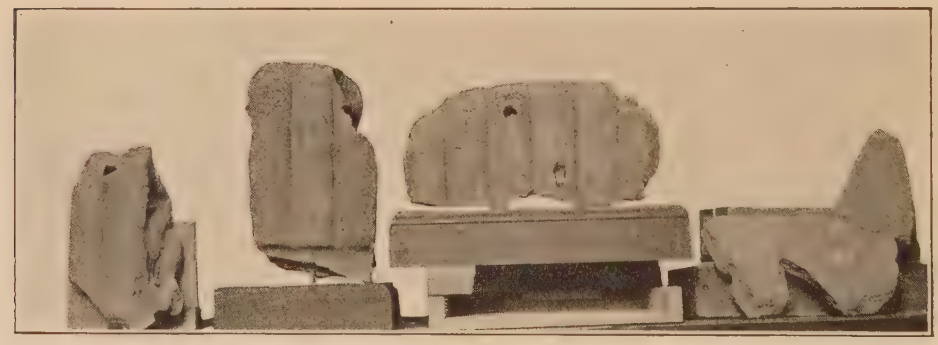
[1] Helbig, *Führer*, 1784 m; Strong, *loc. cit.* 1914, Fig. 23, No. 1.

From these fragments,[1] which are on a scale slightly larger than that of the antefixes, we are able to restore at either end of the sima a

A B C D

FIG. 11.—FRAGMENTS FROM THE ACROTERIA.

quadriga probably, on analogy with other temples,[2] driving up the rake of the pediment.



A B C D

FIG. 12.—FRAGMENTS FROM THE ACROTERIA.
(The reverse sides of the subjects shown in Fig. 11.)

[1] They cannot come from the central acroterion as it would then be at an angle with the plane of the pediment; also fragment 4 gives us the hind legs of horses facing in the opposite direction.

[2] The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is represented with lateral acroteria in the form of chariots driving up the pediment in a relief from the arch of M. Aurelius in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

See also Wace in *P.B.S.R.* iv. (1907), p. 240.

Fragments of figures of rather larger size—the top of a female head, a female r. arm, and part of chest and of feet in soft shoes—possibly come from the central acroterion (see the sketch, Fig. 7).

IV.—*Gorgoneion over Mutule.*

The Gorgoneion[1] is of the ordinary apotropaic fully frontal type, but with the more 'frightful' traits such as the beard left out, as usual in the later period. It reproduces in the rounder technique of the fourth century the old awe-inspiring Medusa-head of archaic art. Its purpose is clearly protective. The snaky hair is all broken off except for a small piece above the brow. The modelling is coarse but forcible. The back is left rough, and there are remains of a piece projecting behind at right angles on a level with the forehead.

This head, complete with its snaky hair, was probably one of a pair which covered the beam ends at the angles of the gable.[2] As can be seen from the sketch in Fig. 7, it is quite in proportion with the pedimental figures, and that antepagmenta were used over the mutules (though not over the columen[3]) in combination with a pediment filled with sculpture we have good evidence. Among the terra-cotta remains of an aedicula from Cannicella[4] now in the Museum at Orvieto, together with a seated female figure from the pediment, a gorgoneion was found from over one of the mutules of a type slightly later than our example. Again, on one of the rock tombs at Norchia[5] is a pediment in which are numerous figures, and at either end over the mutule a gorgoneion.

V.—*Other Fragments.*

(*a*) A few pieces from a sima which seems to have been made up, as in the later building, of an ornament 'à jour' consisting here of small square panels joined by a fret under a row of palmettes above a moulded tongue pattern. One of the fragments of the latter shows a flat surface

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 423; Helbig, *Führer*, 1784 i.; Strong, *loc. cit.* Fig. 24.

[2] For the custom of protecting beam ends against both spiritual and material damage see E. Strong, *J.R.S.* 1914, p. 164.

[3] As has been too hastily assumed by Durm in his reconstruction; Rizzo, *Bull. Com.* 1911, p. 52.

[4] *Not. Scavi*, 1885, Tav. iv. i. p. 36.

[5] Durm, p. 140, Fig. 162.

with a hole which confirms the idea that the acroteria were applied against the sima.

(*b*) A small lion's head which may have come from the end of the sima, where it needed finishing on the long sides (see sketch, Fig. 7).

(*c*) A few fragments of ornamental friezes from the revetments of the beams.

(*d*) Fragments[1] of the terra-cotta casing for wooden columns, including part of a capital and base of the Tuscan order, and also part of the casing of a shaft fluted in the Doric manner. The pieces show that the columns were of small size and in proportion to the rest of the terra-cotta decoration.

These fragments, though not sufficient to allow us to attempt restoration of the temple as a whole, at least enable us to form some idea of its appearance. It must have been quite a small building, about 9 m. wide, and built entirely of wood. Above the columns with their terra-cotta casings come the dignified groups of gods and goddesses under the richly-decorated sima with its acroteria, while along the side stood the graceful little figures of the antefixes; the whole a blaze of rich and harmonious colour, and perhaps one of the happiest examples of the Latin taste in adapting Greek forms to the decoration of an Etruscan building. For if another argument were needed to prove the purely Greek[2] form of the decoration, and especially of the figures, a glance at the figurines from Tanagra and Myrina is enough to show how exactly similar was the contemporary treatment of terra-cotta in Greece and Ionia. Here we can see figures in the same or but slightly varying poses and gifted with the same grace and elegance as the pieces from our temple. In the treatment of both that spirit makes itself felt which pervaded the Hellenistic world, which animates the statues of the Muses, of Eros, of other creations of the period, and which breathes in the works of Theocritus and the other Alexandrine poets.

[1] Helbig, *Führer*, 1784 s.

[2] That Greek artists in terra-cotta continued to work in Rome at a later date is proved by the cippus of the Athenian 'plastes,' Gnaeus Arrius Stratocles, and his wife in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala degli Orti Lamiani, No. 16A, to which Mrs. Strong has kindly called my attention. Loewy, *Die Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, E 552; *I.G.* xiv. 1419.

B.—LARGE TEMPLE, THIRD-SECOND CENTURY B.C. (PLATES I., II.)

The architectural terra-cottas from this temple have all been excellently published, with small drawings by Cozza, in the *Notizie degli Scavi*,[1] to which I would refer those who desire further details. In the following notes I have first described the figured terra-cottas, *i.e.*, in this temple the antefixes only, then those covered with a decorative pattern. The most important of those described are shown in the plates after Mr. Bradshaw's drawings of the restored Temple and its architectural details.

1. Antefixes.[2] (Plate II.; left-hand bottom corner.)

H. 53 cm. Alternate male and female winged figures (so-called 'Persian' and 'Artemis' types).[3]

(*a*) Winged bearded male figure holding a lighted torch in either hand; dressed in chiton, and himation falling over either arm; on head is a Phrygian cap. Wings greenish; chiton and himation white with purple borders.

(*b*) Winged female figure[4] grasping the fore-paws of a lioness in either hand; hair loose; on head polos; dressed in peplos. Wings greenish, chiton white with purple borders, lions leaden grey.

2. Central Acroterion (Plate II., top, r.).

H. 1·22 m., W. 66 cm. An Ionic palmette of fine design rising from two spirals unfortunately fragmentary. The front side only is worked in relief, though both sides are coloured in red, blue-black, and white.

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 419 ff. Fenger, *Le Temple Etrusco-Latin*, follows Cozza's arrangement of the plaques in the main. He reproduces the drawings from *Not. Scavi* with examples of terra-cottas from other temples.

[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 426, Fig. 432; Helbig, *Führer*, 1784 q; Cf. Koch, *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien*, Taf. xvi. for somewhat similar types from Capua.

[3] The original use of these types was certainly a protective one; the πότνια θήρων to keep down the powers of evil, the male figure with his lighted torch to preserve day perpetually round the sacred building. At the time, however, when such temples as ours were built the magical significance must have been almost if not wholly lost in the artistic.

[4] Cf. Koch, *op. cit.* Taf. xxxi. for Persian Artemis with lions from Cales. Also similar figures from Alatri in the Villa Giulia Museum.

3. Cornice above pediment [1] (Plate II., top, l.).

Consists of four pieces, cresting, sima, ovolo and fascia.

(*a*) Cresting à jour—each piece H. 45 cm., W. 54 cm. Palmette ornament above, scroll pattern below. At the vertical joints are grooves to receive liquid lead. At the bottom is a plain fillet, which fits into

(*b*) Sima or crown moulding, each piece H. 55 cm., W. 66 cm., with a groove along the top into which (*a*) fits. A tongue face curving outwards above, then small bead moulding, plain band decorated with a painted maeander and torus with scale pattern. Colours, red, white, blue-black. The pattern goes two ways. Above end of each piece is a tenon, at the other a groove so that the whole could be locked together, while a small cavity running along the torus moulding at the bottom served to hold a filling of lead.

(*c*) Small ovolo moulding in low relief with lotus pattern. Each piece H. ·115 m., W. ·315 m. Colours well preserved. Yellow on red and blue ground. Covered the templa or roof-battens.

(*d*)[2] Terra-cotta plaques forming decorative fascia. H. ·60 m, W. ·525 m. each. Small lotus pattern as in (*c*), but concave, above ; below, separated by a bead moulding, a double row of palmettes enclosed in a running fillet. This fascia seems to have been continued on the long sides of the temple, and is so used in the reconstruction. The angle of the pediment is shown by one piece which is cut obliquely (Fig. 13).[3] The colour from this, as well as most of the remaining sets of plaques, has in great measure disappeared, but was red, dark blue and white, with some details in yellow.

4. Terra-cotta plaques, H. 65 cm., W. 45 cm. each (Plate II., bottom, r.). Small lotus pattern as in 3 (*d*) above ; below two palmettes and two double *S*-shaped spirals placed back to back and obliquely. This type being the deepest is used in the reconstruction (on the

[1] Fragments of similar cornices with and without cresting à jour from Mercury Temple at Falerii, Alatri, Segni etc. (Villa Giulia Museum). Also from Cervetri, and Civita Lavinia (B.M.).

[2] Fragments of plaques from the same mould from the temple in Contrada Vignale (the ancient Acropolis) exist in the Museum of the Villa Giulia.

[3] This piece is specially mentioned by Cozza as furnishing conclusive evidence as to the slope of the pediment. *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 428.

architrave beneath the pediment) on the *trabs compactilis* over the columns of the façade, the most important lintel in the building.

5. Terra-cotta plaques, H. ·325 m. Above row of small palmettes below double lotus and palmette pattern. Fragments of 3 right-angled pieces exist; used in the reconstruction round the doors.[1]

6. Terra-cotta plaques[2] H. ·425 m. W. ·425 m. each piece. Small lotus pattern as in 3 (*d*) above; below vine pattern, of which the main

FIG. 13.—PLAQUES OF THE FASCIA.

characteristic is a serpentine stalk which traverses the device in its whole length, while various buds and flowers are scattered over the field. Used in the reconstruction on the architrave above the columns. Attached to the lower end is a narrow band decorated with alternate small palmettes and medallions.

This set of plaques is of a curious and apparently late style. It is therefore, possibly due to a subsequent repairing of the temple.

[1] Similar right-angled pieces are found among the terra-cottas from Luni. Both Milani, *op. cit.* and Fenger, *Le Temple Etrusco-Latin* suggest their use round doors or windows.

[2] Gusman, *L'Art décoratif de Rome*, Pl. 71, there described as of Etruscan type under Oriental influence; but no attempt is made to date it. The birds and insects mentioned in the description do not occur. Helbig, *Führer*, 1784 r.

7. Tiles[1] 79 × 60 cm. On the long sides of each tile is a raised fillet over which the roll tile fitted. The fillet and tile are halved at the bottom for a distance equal to the lap. On the inside of the fillet is a small projection against which the edge of the tile above stopped. The tiles were numbered on the edge, as numerous fragments show, in Roman numerals incised before baking.

Some fragments[2] are painted underneath the lower edge for a width of 36 cm. with zigzags in red and blue on a white ground. These must be pieces from the lowest row of tiles. The painted band indicates the projection beyond the fascia.[3] On the upper surface the fillet is stopped in order to allow the antefixes to rest across the two tiles. Other pieces show painting on the long side of the tile underneath for a width of 17·5 cm., and along the side of the raised fillet on the outer edge.

These pieces, as Cozza[4] points out, must have come from the back of the building. In fact, a piece published by him and now lost shows the angle and the junction of the two bands of different widths.

8. Roll-tiles, L. 1·66, W. 16 cm. Semicircular, uncoloured. One end halved to receive ordinary edge of next tile.

Besides these terra-cotta fragments, Cozza found blocks of tufa and drums of columns of varying height covered with fine stucco painted in red vertical stripes. One of these drums is illustrated[5] by him. Thus it is evident that the temple had walls and columns of stone, while its epistyle was of wood with revetments of terra-cotta.

As has been said above, though the remains of the terra-cotta revetments of the larger temple are quite enough to give us a practically complete scheme of decoration, only two pieces of the foundations were found. No record of any measurement made between the two exists, but the width of the temple is determined not only by the size of the fragments, but also by a dimension derived from the excavation plan of Cozza. The large pit on the plan in *Not. Scavi*, 1888, is given as 13 m. square. Assuming that the drawing is to scale, as it most certainly would be, the distance between the two fragments of the side walls of the temple

[1] Helbig, *Führer*, p. 1784. [2] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 425, Fig. 12.
[3] A fragment of one of these tiles is shown in Plate II., middle right.
[4] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 425, Fig. 11. [5] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 429, Fig. 19.

can be determined as 17 m. This width, while quite out of proportion with the pedimental figures, is suitable, as can be seen at a glance, to the sets of revetments assigned to the larger temple.

The slope of the pediment is shown by the piece of set 3 (*d*) already mentioned and reproduced in Fig. 13. It must have come from one of the angles.

As there are no traces of pedimental figures of suitable size, the tympanum has been left empty. Should, however, such a pediment [1] seem unlikely at this date, the only alternative will be to suppose that the pedimental figures from the smaller temple were used over again regardless of their size. No attempt to suggest this has been made on the plate, as the effect could not fail to be somewhat grotesque. We must also remember that in one part of the Greek world at least, temples without sculptured decoration in the pediments were, at this time, the rule rather than the exception. The three great Ionian [2] temples, at Ephesos, Priene and Magnesia, were all without pedimental groups; and Ionia was precisely that part of the Greek world which from the earliest times was most closely connected with Italy.

The theory of an empty pediment for our temple, supported as it is by the evidence of the remains, may therefore be put forward with some confidence.

A set of semicircular antefixes with heads in relief was also found on the site.

If the pediment was an open one, these may possibly have stood along the roof at its base. On the other hand, as Professor Della Seta has justly pointed out to me, their style seems somewhat earlier [3] than the rest of the decoration of the larger temple. The types are those of a maenad wearing a kind of Phrygian cap on her head, and two types of Sileni, the one with curling hair and beard, and dressed as Heracles

[1] It has been suggested to me that the back wall of the pediment may have been painted. There is, however, no evidence to justify such a supposition in the case of the temple.

[2] Thiersch, *Jahreshefte*, xi. 1908, p. 47 ff.; Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, i. p. 106; Hermann and Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander*, p. 63 ff.

[3] In the British Museum there is, however, a plaque from Civita Lavinia, *Catalogue of Terra-cottas*, D 715, with a pattern of palmettes encircled by a fillet, very similar to 3 (*d*), in which every other palmette in the upper row is replaced by alternating heads of maenads and Sileni. These, though in somewhat lower relief, are identical in style and almost in type with those on the antefixes under consideration.

in a lion's skin, the other with a bald head and straggling beard. Antefixes from the same moulds have been found in Contrada Vignale (the ancient acropolis) and among the remains of the so-called temple of Mercury.

Besides being largely used to supply deficiencies of material in Cozza's restoration of the temple of Alatri, in the garden of the Villa Giulia Museum, the terra-cotta ornament of the entablature of our temple has been restored on paper, by Cozza[1] in his description of the excavation and finds, by Borrmann,[2] and again by Fenger.[3] The two latter restorations show the fascia 3 (*d*) continued along the horizontal cornice below the pediment as well as on the long sides. It is also used along the raking cornice as in our reconstruction, but at the angles disappears into the line of the horizontal cornice, as would happen in the case of the moulding on the sloping cornice of a Greek temple. The same error is found in the British Museum reconstructions of the temple of Juno at Civita Lavinia. The reconstruction of this fascia in Mr. Bradshaw's plate is based not only on the existence of the obliquely-cut plaque, giving the angle of the roof, but also on Rizzo's restoration of the model from Nemi[4] referred to below.

As information with regard to the ground-plan of the temple is lacking, it is shown on the plan restored according to the rule of Vitruvius, divided into three cellae. The idea of roofing a single cella of the dimensions of this temple is hardly a feasible one, and secondly the ground-plans of Etruscan temples of similar size show three cellae, *e.g.* the temples at Marzabotto,[5] Florence,[6] and Lanuvium.[7]

The reconstruction of the various members of the entablature and of the roof is based on the interpretation of the words of Vitruvius made by Choisy in Martha's *L'Art Etrusque* (pp. 273 f.), confirmed in its main

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, p. 431, Fig. 20.

[2] *Die Keramik in der Baukunst*, Fig. 25.

[3] *Le Temple Etrusco-Latin.* A large coloured restoration of a temple is given, based principally on remains found at Falerii. Cozza's drawings are also reproduced in the text.

[4] *Bull Com.* 1910, p. 302, Fig. 6. Also given by Mrs. Strong, *J.R.S.* 1914, Fig. 18.

[5] Durm, *Baukunst der Etrusker und Römer*, p. 107, Fig. 117; Brizio, *Mon. dei Lincei*, vol. i. 1889, pp. 249 ff.

[6] Milani, *Mon. dei Lincei*, vol. vi. p. 20. The temple at Marzabotto is 19 m. wide, that at Florence 20 m.

[7] *Bollet. Associazione Arch. Rom.* iv. 1914, p. 193.

lines by Wiegand[1] and Borrmann,[2] and last of all by Rizzo[3] (in the above-mentioned valuable study of Etruscan temple architecture in the *Bull. Com.* 1910–1911) and now generally accepted. With regard to the projection of the eave, Rizzo's interpretation of the disputed passage of Vitruvius[4] has been preferred to Wiegand's.

With regard to the deities to whom the temple was dedicated, nothing of course can be said. If it was built on the site of the smaller temple and designed to take its place, it would probably have been dedicated to the same deity or deities. Even had we clear evidence of three cellae, their existence would by no means necessarily imply that the temple was a Capitolium, especially as it does not face south. The temple of Juno Lanuvina had three cellae, and the same is true of at least two of the temples at Marzabotto. Again, the temple of Juno Curitis at Falerii itself was built on the same plan, while, even were its correct designation unknown, its position at the bottom of a valley would preclude the possibility of its being a Capitolium in the ordinary sense of the term, (*i.e.* Jupiter being the most important of the three deities worshipped), though Jupiter and Minerva may have been honoured in conjunction with the greater and more famous Juno Curitis. This is perhaps the more likely as we have evidence to show that both the other members of the Capitoline triad were worshipped at Falerii.[5]

Other triads[6] were honoured in Etruria besides the Capitoline, and,

[1] *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, Text, vol. ii. pp. 1 ff.

[2] *Die Keramik in der Baukunst*, pp. 39 f.

[3] Rizzo's refutation of Fra Giocondo's interpretation of the disputed passage, adopted by Durm in his handbook and also by Fenger, is to me quite conclusive. Dr. Morgan, the latest translator of Vitruvius (1914), correctly renders 'stillicidium' by eave.' The accompanying drawing, however, on p. 121 does not bear out this translation, but seems to fall back on Fra Giocondo's interpretation.

[4] Rizzo explains *tectum absolutum* in the sentence *ut stillicidium tecti absoluti tertiario respondeat* as the roof excluding the eave, thus obtaining a projection of ¼ of the whole length of the roof. Wiegand, considering *tectum absolutum* to be equivalent to the roof in its entirety, believes in a projection of one-third. Such a projection combined with the heavy antefixes and roof tiles would lay a great strain on the cantherii. Rizzo's interpretation is, on the other hand, perfectly feasible, while still retaining the heavy proportions of the roof which we know to have been characteristic of Etruscan buildings.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 843, 'Capta Minerva.' For the worship of Jupiter Imperator, Roscher, *Lexikon*, Juppiter, b.d. Faliskern (Aust).

[6] As our knowledge of the Etruscan religion increases we may hope to gain some light as to the nature and names of the various triads worshipped in Etruria. We know at present practically nothing of the Etruscan gods, beyond being able to interpret a few scenes painted in tombs or engraved on mirrors and other articles.

indeed, as we know, the typical Etruscan temple according to Vitruvius has three cellae, a fact which in itself seems to imply the worship of three divinities. Supposing the larger temple to have taken the place of the smaller, it may possibly have been dedicated to such a triad as Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, though such a supposition cannot be said to have any real evidence in its support.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL. VIII. NO. 2.

DRAWINGS OF ANCIENT PAINTINGS IN ENGLISH COLLECTIONS. II.—IV.

BY THOMAS ASHBY, D.LITT., F.S.A.

IN the present volume of the *Papers of the British School at Rome* I continue my description of certain groups of copies of ancient paintings preserved in English Collections (see *Papers*, vol. vii. pp. 1–62).

The two volumes of drawings at Holkham] Hall, the property of the Earl of Leicester, were described generally in vol. vii. pp. 1–5. The coloured drawings and the pencil sketches with colour-notes are alike the work of Francesco Bartoli (*ca.* 1675–*ca.* 1730), the son of the better-known Pietro Sante Bartoli. As to the character of his work, I may refer the reader to vol. vii. *l.c.* The numbers in brackets after the serial numbers are those which are found on the drawings themselves.

Mr. Baddeley's volume of drawings executed by Pietro Sante Bartoli for Cardinal Camillo Massimi was described by me in the *Papers*, vol. vi. p. 489.

The drawings at Chatsworth I have attributed (vol. vii. p. 3) to Gaetano Piccini. My attention was called to them by Mrs. S. A. Strong.

PART II.—THE HOLKHAM DRAWINGS.

HOLKHAM I.

The drawings are all coloured.

1. Centre of *Eton* iii. 28 (=*App.* 4), *q.v.* 326×180.

2 (28). Male figure with garland of leaves flying to his left; a fillet in his right hand, a dish of fruits in his left. His drapery is mauve above and reddish-yellow below.

Like *Eton* ii. 7 (attitude and colours differ). 132×186.

3 (61). =*Eton* iv. 70.

The positions of the statues on the left vary, and there are two figures shown on the left of the Pantheon; and also a figure with a spear over his shoulder, on the extreme right (shown in *Eton* i. 41).

248×159.

4 (27). A detailed drawing of *Eton* iv. 39, No. 11=*Holk.* ii. 20, No. 10 =Chatsworth 26. 129×182.

5. Recumbent Danae with the Cupids shown. =*Eton*, Bn. 9, f. 9.; *Turnbull* 2; also Pl. B and text p. 171. The colours agree with his Pl. B. *M.D.* 4112.

6 (29). =*Eton* ii. 8. 131×187.

7 (126). Companion figure to *infra*, 42, and *Eton* iv. 51 (here there are no statuettes on the dishes). 127×182.

8 (56). =*Eton* iv. 50 (colours differ). Resembles *Capp.* 284. 31 (not identical). 129×182.

9 (55). Female figure turned to spectator's left; she has a red fillet, yellow overdress, and green dress, a chaplet of olive in her right hand and a bracelet on her right arm; her left arm rests on a pillar. It probably belongs to the same wall as the foregoing (see *Eton* iv. 39 and *infra*, ii. 20). 128×180.

10 (123). = *infra*, ii. 20. 2; *Eton* iv. 39. 2; *Chatsw.* 16. 128×182.

11 (44). = Bartoli, *Picturae Sepulcri Nasonum* 28; *Vittoria* (cf. *P.B.S.R.* vii. p. 1) 64. 2 (9637).

The shields are shown yellow, the trap brown. The man to the spectator's left has a blue tunic and red trousers, the next has a red tunic; the next man is in green, and the next in red; in the right-hand group the colours are red, green, then two of uncertain tints, while the last two men are in blue. 241×154.

12 (55). = *ibid.* 26; *Vitt.* 63. 3 (9635).

The man on the left is in red, the man on the right in blue.

241×153.

13 (45). = *ibid.* 27; *Vitt.* 64. 1 (9636).

The man on the left is in red, with yellow boots; the man under the shield in blue. The man crouching in the foreground is in yellow; the others, going from left to right, are in red, blue, red, yellow, and blue.

233×151.

14 (13). The so-called Coriolanus. See Weege in *Jahrb.* 1913, 220, No. 2, and cf. *Eton* ii. 1.

15 (53). = *Vitt.* 75 (9650). Lunette of the tomb shown in Bartoli, *Ant. Sep.* 5 (Villa Corsini), cf. *infra*, ii. 24, 34. See Michaelis, *Jahrb.* 1910, 118, 125.

The four figures above on the left are respectively draped in yellow, mauve, red, and blue; the recumbent figure is draped in red; the bearded man behind her is in red and blue; of the two female figures, one is in blue, the other (with shield and spear) in green. 273×170.

16 (42). Bartoli, *Sep. Nason.* 9; *Vitt.* 53. 1 (9617).

The trophies are in red, the drapery on the left in red, and on the right in green. 188×148.

17 (67). = *Eton* iv. 98. 172×191.

18 (21). = *Sep. Nason.* 8; *Vitt.* 52 (9616). 202×145.

19 (131). = *Eton* iv. 74. 157×196.

20 (22). = *Sep. Nason.* 11; *Vitt.* 55. 1 (9621). 200×145.

21 (60). = *Eton* iv. 71; *Turnb.* 41. Lettered *Fran. Bar.* 205×266.

22 (126). = *Eton* iv. 56; *Cameron* 52. 128×182.

23 (20). = *Nettuno* (cf. *P.B.S.R.* vii. p. 1) 174^{c} (168^{c}; 11425). Cf. *infra*, 25, 28, 56; ii. 74, 76. 153×102.

24 (72). Jupiter sitting to left, in red drapery; by him is an eagle; his left arm is outstretched. Behind him stands a female figure with blue chiton and yellow cloak.

On a pedestal in the centre is a vase. On the right stands a female figure with wand in her left hand and a chaplet of laurel in her right; she wears a yellow dress and a green cloak.

In the background is a blue curtain, the presence of which seems to bring this painting into the same set as Bartoli, *Pict. Vet.* iii.–v.; *Vitt.* 32–34 (9596–8). 177×221.

25 (31). Two men seated; a tree at the right and left, mountains in background. Both men are in Phrygian caps.

It is like *Nett.* 174 (168) a (11423), but here both men are seated. From the Vatican Virgil. 155×105.

26 (69). = *infra*, ii. 20. 8; *Eton* i. 37, iv. 39. 8; *App.* 17. Numbered 69. 175×221.

27 (16). = Bartoli, *Sep. Nason.* 19.

The first figure has a pink robe; the second a red cloak, with yellow skirt and greaves. 152×197.

28 (17). Hylas and the nymphs. = *Nett.* 174 (168) b (11424). 152×104.

29 (24). *Sep. Nason.* 10; *Vitt.* 54. 1 (9612).

The figures (adopting Bartoli's numbers) are coloured as follows: (1) has a red cross-belt, (2) green robe, (3) red robe, (4) blue robe. The Tritons in the spandrels are omitted. 202×145.

30 (15). = *Eton* ii. 2. 158×140.

31 (70). = *Eton* iv. 73, but with an open Doric colonnade. 157×186.

32 (10), 33 (12), and ii. 64 (11).

Three silver panels from the front of a wooden chest, encased in bronze and silver, a drawing of which exists in *Nett.* 120 (11359) 32, 33, 95×97; ii. 64, 100×102.

34 (38). = Bartoli, *Pict. Ant.* 3; *Vitt.* 36 (9598). 167×160.

35 (129). = *Eton* i. 43. 177×252.

36 (33). = *Eton* ii. 38. 160×150.

37 (47). = *Eton* ii. 35; *App.* 9. a. 162×157.

38 (68). = *infra*, ii. 20, No. 3 (cf. on *Eton* iv. 39); *Turnb.* 32; *D'Ag.* 12. Diam. 154.

39 (43). = Bartoli, *Pict. Ant.* 7; *Vitt.* 39 (9601). 202×145.

40 (57). = *Eton* iv. 58; cf. *Chatsw.* 25. 129×182.

41 (58). = *Eton* iv. 41. 129×182.

42 (128). = *Eton* iv. 51; *infra*, ii. 54. 133×178.

43 (40). = Bartoli, *Pict. Ant.* 6 (reversed); *Vitt.* 37 (9599). 162×152.

44. = *ibid.* 4 (reversed) 167×161.

45 (41). Bartoli, *Sep. Nas.* 5; *Vitt.* 50 (9612). 187×155.

46 (66). = *Eton* iii. 51 (the ref. in *Papers*, vii. p. 42, is incorrect).

47 (26). = Bartoli, *Pict. Ant.* 9; *Vitt.* 53. 1 (9617).

48 (30). = *ib.* 7.; *Vitt.* 52 (9616).

49 (59). Cf. *supra*, 8, 44, 45; *Chatsw.* 9.
Female figure on red ground; green drapery, yellow cloak, red girdle; *cornucopiae* in left arm; right arm outstretched. = *Chatsw.* 33. 130×182.

50 (34). = *Eton* ii. 17. 175×181

51 (23). = *Sep. Nas.* 6; *Vitt.* 51. 1 (9614). 202×144.

52 (49). = *Eton* iv. 96. 401×215.

53 (25). = *Pict. Ant.* 8. Diam. 161.

54 (4). Medallion from *Eton* iii. 28 (two boys' heads). 106×92.

55 (56). *Turnb.* 42. 128×182.

56 (19). = *Nett.* 174 (168) e (11427). 154×107.

57 (2). = *Pict. Ant.* 12. See Weege, *Jahrb. cit.* 180, No. 3, and cf. Pl. 9a. 228×154.

58 (46). = *Sep. Nason.* 29; *Vitt.* 65 (9638).

59 (54). = *Pict. Ant.* 11. See Weege, *cit.* 179 fin. 248×153.

60 (78). = *Turnb.* 35; *D'Ag.* 6; cf. on *Eton* iv. 39. 245×146.

61 (36). = *Eton* ii. 14. 179×196.

62. Mosaic in Vigna Moroni. See *Engelmann* xiv. 4 (*Cors.* 161), xx. 5. 121×123.

63 (14). = *Eton* ii. 71. 96×50.

64 (37). = *Pict. Ant.* 5 (reversed); *Vitt.* 34 (9596). 161 square.

65 (71). = *Eton* iv. 77; but there are mountains in the background to the left, not trees as in *Turnb.* 36. 175×220.

66–79. Vaulting of the Villa Madama.

80. The so-called "Aldobrandini Marriage" (Nogara, *Nozze Aldobrandine*, etc., 1 *sqq.*). 240×71.

End of Volume I. of the Holkham Drawings.

HOLKHAM II.

The drawings are coloured except where the contrary is indicated.

1 (I. 117). Etruscan crater: red-figured. *App.* 13. 120×151.

2 (II. 118). Another red-figured vase: three male figures in cloaks going right up to the neck, the one on the left facing to the right, the two on the right facing to the left. Between them is a circle with a cross in it. Cf. Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* Suppl. iii. Pl. 37, Fig. 1 (not the same). 122×151.

3 (107). Oinochoe. A horseman to the right, beyond him a running figure on the right and left; on the neck are two beasts. 84×42.

4 (108). Archaic oinochoe. Two Satyrs with tails are dancing; between them is a female figure, also dancing; on the neck are vine-leaves. 103×170.

5 (109). Vase. In the centre is a bearded Bacchus draped, with his left hand uplifted; on each side is a Satyr and a Bacchante. 103×235.

6 (110). Vase. A similar scene, but without the Bacchantes.

7 (63). = *Eton* ii. 22 (the left foot of Aphrodite is not out of the water).

8 (65). Mosaic of Hylas and the Nymphs. See *Badd.* xciv. (42) and reff. 198×323.

9 (64). Mosaic of charioteer. *Ciampini* i. 23; *Vitt.* 41 (9615); *M.D.* 4115. 207×330.

10 (168). = *Eton* iii. 46 (*q.v.*). 338×344.

11 (76). Tripod on green ground = Windsor, *Vitt.* 96 (9674); *Mos. Ant.* i. 92 (9031). From the Basilica of Junius Bassus (Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie* i. 3. 337).

12 (34). A long wall with seven panels (numbering from left) and with a narrow frieze below.

(1) (7) Candelabrum with a half-figure in the centre of it.

(2) Female figure with a dish in her right hand and a jug in her left; red dress, blue overdress.

(3) A bird standing on foliage; red ground.

(4) Two women apparently serving, with the upper part of the body bare; the one to the left has a blue dress and red mantle, the one to the right a green mantle. Yellow ground.

(5) Peacock standing on foliage; red-brown ground.

(6) A female figure in red and yellow drapery.

The small friezes are white on brown. 167×462.

An original pencil sketch from the right half of the wall is preserved in *Vitt.* 100. 2 (9680), with the legend *Pittura nella facciata di una stanza nel orto delle Sette sale scoperta l'anno* 1683, and another sketch without legend of panels 3, 4, 5, *ibid.* 103. 2 (9684).

It may be noted that the former, in panel 4, gives the mantle of the woman on the left as crimson, no indication of the colour of the dress being given; while the woman on the right has a blue dress and a crimson mantle. There are other differences in colour in the foliage of panel 5. The columns are noted as purple. Lanciani is, I think, wrong in associating it with *Caylus* 41–48 and *Cors.* 73–75.

13 (6). The decoration of a whole wall, corresponding to *Eton* ii. 27, and obviously from the same room.

The architectural framework is the same, but the central figure above is a male figure going to the spectator's left with a *lagobolon* and a cloak in his left arm, and his right arm outstretched; at each side are masks, instead of female figures. In the centre below is a basket of flowers on a pedestal; on each side above, where *Eton* has flames, is a panther; and below on each side is a draped female figure, holding out a basket of flowers towards the centre. 263×172.

14 (62). = *Eton* iii. 28, with considerable differences of colour, and some arbitrary variations, the medallion with two heads being to the right, and that with the girl's head to the left. The positions of the chariots are also reversed, though those of the lower scenes are not. 263×172.

15 (8). The so-called 'Volta di Giove' in the Domus Aurea (= *App.* 6). Diam. 307.

16 (140). = *Eton* iii. 44. 325 square.

17 (134). = *Eton* iii. 42. 468×290.

18 (133). Ceiling painting, so far unidentified.

In the centre in a circle, a female figure with a blue scarf on a griffin, which is moving to the right; red ground. Two rectangular panels, one at each side, each with a sacrificial scene; the field is decorated with foliage, in which are Victories. 487×370.

19. = *Eton* iii. 43. 339 square.

20 (132). = *Eton* iv. 39, with notable variations of colours and details. Thus, No. 11 in *Eton* has here no *cornucopiae*, but a bowl of flowers in her right hand, while the left hand holds her drapery. The figures, too, have changed places to a considerable extent. Thus, No. 7 in the *Eton* drawing is in the place of 9 here; No. 11 is here at No. 10, and No. 13 at No. 12. 408×272.

21 (143). = *Eton* iii. 36.

The positions and colours in the scenes are varied. 342×340.

22 (141). = *Eton* iii. 47. 360×365.

23. = *Eton* iii. 30. Signed *Franco Bartoli Delineo.* 344×340.

24 (5). Resembles *Eton* iii. 15, but is not identical. See *infra*, 34. 320 square.

25 (136). = *Eton* iii. 50. Here the design is shown in a rectangle. 309×386.

26 (75). = *Pict. Ant.* 22 (reversed). It is signed *F. B.*, and lettered *Tavola xxi.* 145×175.
(The engraving measures 150×180.)

27 (73). = *Pict. Ant.* 20. Signed *Franco B.* 168×170.

28 (74). = *Pict. Ant.* 21 (not reversed). 160×161.
(The engraving measures 158×157.)

29 (116). The column of Antoninus Pius shown as restored, with the inscription (*C.I.L.* vi. 1004, 31223). Pen and grey wash. Signed *Franco Bartoli.* Full-page size. 350×510.

30 (115). The column before restoration. Pen and grey wash. Signed *F. B.* 323×480.

31 (119). Detail of angle with the end of the inscription. Pen and grey wash. Signed *F. B.* 255×375.

32 (105). = Pietro Sante Bartoli in *Cod. Ottob.* 3105, f. 85 (copied by Ghezzi, *Ottob.* 3109, f. 188; Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1882, 231); *C.I.L.* vi. 30970. Pen and ink. 138×220.

33. Base of column of Antoninus Pius, east side (Amelung, *Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, i. Pl. 117). The reliefs are shown as restored. Pen and grey wash. 320×247.

34 (85). Pen drawing of one-quarter of the painting which is shown coloured *supra*, 24, with notes of the colours. 'Pittura di una volta sepolcrale nella villa di Monsig^re^ Corsini fuori la Porta S. Pancrazio segnata nella pianta alla lettera E.'

If we compare the plan in *Vitt.* 69 (9644) with that in Bartoli, *Sepolcri* 3, we find that the room referred to is that numbered 5 in the latter. The lunette is, then, shown in *Holk.* i. 15 and *Vitt.* 75 (9650); cf. Bartoli, *cit.* 5.

The colours as noted here do not agree with those shown in 24. Thus the ground of the central circle is here shown as *cinabro* (cinnabar red), whereas in 24 it is blue, and the same applies to the ground of the panels at the angles; and the drapery of the male and female figures in the centre is here yellow and blue respectively, while in 24 it is pink in both cases. 188×251.

35 (92). Pencil drawing of three female figures seated; the upper two=*Eton* iv. 88; the lowest has her left index finger uplifted; in her right hand is a branch. On the right is a vase overflowing. 176×194.

36 (100). Pencil drawing. Mithraic scene. 'Pittura antica scoperta li 22 genaro 1668 uicino il coliseo.' See *Eton* ii. 19 (the details are the same, but the scale is different).

37 (94). Pen-and-ink drawing, lettered F. An Etruscan urn (Bartoli, *Sepolcri*, 96) without the relief, and with the inscription thus—

MIƧƎ٦ : ƎXIX

On each side are figures of Amazons (lettered D and E) holding torches, which might be the ends of a sarcophagus like that shown *ib.* 92. 241×163.

38 (87). Pencil drawing lettered B. Female figure with vase. = *Eton* iii. 27. 10; *Badd.* cviii., cix. 10. 70×136.

39 (106). Pen drawing of a brick-stamp and of a vase found in the tombs of the Villa Corsini.

Teuolone con il presente merco trouato ne sepolcri della Villa Corsina. (Crescent stamp.)

CIVL ΠVPIONIS (no doubt C IVLI LVPIONIS).

The brick-stamp is unpublished; cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 76–78 for other stamps (belonging to the time of Hadrian) of the *figlinae Caepionianae* on which this name occurs.

Vasetto oue erano le cenerij di un picciolo putto mede(si)mamente della Villa Corsina. An urn 10½ *dita* (inches) square, with a relief on the front of a figure with a shell held to the breast, draped only below this; on each side is a winged putto.

On the back is the following: *Sig. Abate Canoni(co) Alessandro Tauelletti in faccia al Barbiero sotto de Grossi alle* 3 *la nella* 40. . . .[?] 136×176.

40 (83). Pencil sketch (colours not noted) of *Eton* iv. 87, which is not very accurate. 165×218.

41 (97). Etruscan cinerary urn; like Bartoli, *Sepolcri* 94, but not identical. On the lid is a recumbent figure crowned with a garland and wearing a necklace; on the front is the sacrifice of a kid, with five figures; one of the male figures wears a pointed cap; a female on the extreme right holds up both hands. The inscription on the urn runs thus—

ITIO IƧVƆ·R : ƎƆƎ+I+ƆƎ

Pen. 186×257.

42 (79). Left half of *Eton* iii. 27, *Badd.* cviii., cix., including the two central panels. Pencil. 328×188.

43 (88). = *Eton* ii. 10, iv. 81. Pen. 100×121.

44 (104). Two views of a bronze statuette (?): a female draped figure with bare arms; the hair is bound with a fillet; the left index finger is held to the chin, the right arm is held akimbo. The front view is in pencil, the side in pen. 156×211.

45 (103). Back view (in pencil) and side view (in pen) of 44. 138×190.

46 (80). *Ornamento di una stanza anticha tutta di stucco di basso rileuo.* Pen drawing of a quarter of *Eton* iii. 14 on a larger scale; the colours are not given. Dr. Weege notes that it is also identical with *Uffizi*, Soffitti 3. 338×271.

47 (95). Pen sketch of the tomb of the Plautii with fragments of the upper inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3605; cf. *Papers* iii. 127).

48 (120). Pen-and-wash drawing of the plan of the column of Antoninus Pius. 223 square.

49 (111). Pen drawing of 12 marble sepulchral urns with lids. Most are copied from forgeries by Ligorio in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3439, f. 170 *sqq.*

(1–3) *C.I.L.* vi. 1841*, 1058*, 11158.

(4)
GP · CANARTHAE
PRINCIPIS · GENTI
VM · BAQVATIVM ·
QVI · VIXIT · ANNO
XXVII · DIES · XIIII · M · III
SOL · IN · AQVAR
POSV ·

This is a forgery made up from the genuine inscription (*C.I.L.* vi. 1800), which was in the Museo Borgia at Velletri, and is now in the Naples Museum. Mommsen, *I.R.N.* 982*.

(5)
OSSA
AMANDAE PLENCHIC
HAEC VIXIT ANN VIII

(6) Has a relief of a smith at a forge.

(7–9) *C.I.L.* vi. 1849*, 1848*, 2825*.

(10) Owl on an amphora.

(11) Ram under a tree.

(12) Female figure reclining on a couch with a garland in her right hand—below GENVCIAE. Bartoli, *Sepolcri* 103, from *Cod. cit.* 172; *C.I.L.* vi. 1962*.

50 (90). Pencil drawing of part of *Badd.* cxxvi. (*q.v.*). 135×110.

51 (81). An incomplete drawing of the 'Carciofolo' mosaic pavement (*Vitt.* 89, 90 = 9666, 9667; *Nett.* 151. 2 = 11397; Bartoli, *Pict. Ant.* 19); cf. *Eton* ii. 17, *App.* 1.

The arrangement is different from that of the engraving, for here Amphitrite on the goat is at the bottom, and the female with the serpent and crab is on the right, and the little boy with the trident at the top. Pen and wash. 248×252.

52 (114). Pen-and-ink drawing of the relief dedicated to the springs and nymphs. Capitol, *Imperatori* 93. Below is the legend: *Incidat(ur) iteru(m). Fr. Joseph Clarionius Socius Rev^mi P. Mag(istr)i S(acri) A(postolici) Palatii.* It is obviously a permission for the drawing to be re-engraved: it had already appeared in Fabretti's *Columna Traiana* (1683). 196×131.

53 (89). Pencil sketch (lettered *m* above) with notes of the colours.

(*a*) On the left above is a sketch for the left-hand figure (No. 9) of *supra*, 20 = *Eton* iv. 39. 7. Here Bartoli notes that the drapery over the left arm should be green, and that from the right, yellow; but in the finished drawing he has reversed the two.

(*b*) = *Eton* iv. 42.

(*c*) = *Eton* iv. 49; *Chatsw.* 18. 178×232.

54 (78). Also lettered *m*. No doubt parts of same wall.

(*a*) Female with flowers in right hand, basket of flowers in left.

(*b*) = i. 42; *Eton* iv. 51.

(*c*) Female with sistrum in right hand, dish with snake in left. = *Chats.* 44; *Capp.* 284. 51; cf. *Eton* iv. 57 (not identical).

The colours are noted. 170×245.

On the reverse is the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 10084 (then in the collection of Monsignore Ciampini); and below a small sketch lettered *Pianta di fabrica anticha scoperta oue erano già li litterati nel anno* 1693 *contigua al arco detto di portogallo*[1] *al segnio* ⁎. The building is not indicated on the *Forma Urbis* of Lanciani, and I know of no other record of the discovery.

[1] For the Arco di Portogallo, which spanned the Via Lata (the modern Corso) a little way north of the Piazza Colonna, see Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 506.

55 (90). Sketch in pen and pencil for *Eton* iv. 99. 140×135.

56 (89). Sketch in pen and ink for *Eton* ii. 72. The colour notes are fairly well followed; but here there are no mountains in the background. (The size would have been the same had it not been for an addition to the sky.) 167×189.

57 (101). Pencil drawing with notes of colours. Two Amazons fighting against two warriors. Legend above: *Scoperta l'anno* 1684 *nelle Terme di Tito.* = *Caylus* 15 (*Eng.* xxvi. 3), which has a similar legend.

58 (77). Pen drawing. *Pitture antiche trouate sotto terra nel orto di Stefano Guglielmini l'anno* 1686 *dietro l'orto di S. Gio. e Pauolo a mano dritta della strada che dal coliseo conduce alla nauicella.*

A wall with three panels. = *Caylus* 26 (*Eng.* xxviii. 2). The details are given separately in *Eton* iv. 82–84, *q.v.* 260×157.

59. *Ornamenti che tramezzano le vitorie delle amazzoni le uni fatti di coloretti altri di chiaro oscuro.* = *Eton* ii. 26. Whether the reference to the Amazons is to *supra*, 57, is, I think, rather doubtful. Pen drawing. 158×137.

60. Pen drawing of *Eton* ii. 24, *q.v.* A pointed rock is here shown in the background. 360×176.

61 (93). Drawings of fragments of reliefs in black chalk. Sacrifice and Camillus. Cf. for a parallel *Papers* iv. Pl. xxii. 220×269.

62 (86). Detail of *Eton* iii. 27 = *Badd.* cviii., cix. (panel No. 9). Pencil drawing marked A. 97×110.

63 (96). Etruscan urn. On the lid is the deceased, recumbent; below is the inscription:

IAИMXϽƎ7ƆMƆ · ƎƆ · IƆƎƆ · IXƎƧ

Below this is a battle-scene in two groups of three warriors each, in which two are fighting (one with a round, one with a lunate shield), while the third has fallen. 183×255.

64 (11). See *supra*, i. 32, 33. Pen and wash. 100×102.

65 (124). Chalk drawing. Apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina from the base of the column (*supra*, 29 *sqq.*). 387×246.

66. Slight pencil sketch of a fresco: in the upper part a frieze in which a male figure reclines on the left, while a putto runs towards him;

on the right another male figure is seated. Below, a putto hastens to the left. Weege compares *Uffizi*, Soffitti 3ᵛ. 186×128.

67. Pen-and-ink sketch of *Eton* iv. 80, *q.v.* 100×123.

68 (123). Coins showing the column of Antoninus Pius (or Papal medals struck in regard to it ?). Ink. 215×276.

69 (102). Pencil drawing of the Cippus of M. Julius Victor (Bellori in *Pict. Ant., App.* 8 ; Daremberg and Saglio iii. 1268, *s. v. liticen*).

70 (112). Pen drawing of the side portico of the Lateran, with the Palace and the obelisk : in the foreground is the Pope, with the umbrella held over him, blessing cripples.

Below is the legend : *Incid(atur) die* 23 *Junii* 1693. *F. Fran(cis)cus M(ar)ia Ferlani D(eputatus ?) S(acri) A(postolici) P(alatii) Mag(istri) Scr(. . . .) Ord(inis) Praed(icatorum).* 127×174.

71 (91). Pencil drawing of *Eton* iv. 79, with the colours noted. 202×147.

72 (112). Priapic lamp. = *Windsor* A9 68ᵛ a (10256). 99×124.

73 (68). = *Turnb.* 31, *D'Ag.* 11 ; cf. on *Eton* iv. 39. Diam. 159.

74 (32). Scene from the Vatican Virgil. *Nett.* 174 (168) d (11423). 153×105.

75 (34). Drawing of a mosaic from the Massimi collection, now in Madrid (cf. on *Eton* ii. 35). 198×171.

76 (18). Another scene from the Vatican Virgil. = *Eton* ii. 73.

77 (5). Medallion of a woman from *Eton* iii. 28, *q.v.*, but with differences of colour, etc.

78 (30). = *supra*, i. 8 ; *Eton* iv. 50.

End of Volume II. of the Holkham Drawings.

PART III.—THE BADDELEY CODEX.

(See Engelmann, xviii. ; *P.B.S.R.* vi. 489.)

li (1). Portrait bust of Terence.

lii (2). Prologus.

liii–lxxxviii (3–38). Scenes from the Vatican Terence.

lxxxix–xc (39). Nozze Aldobrandini. Nogara, *Nozze Aldobr.* p. 9, Fig. 10; Windsor Portfolio 5 (12082), ix[a] 26, 27 (8139, 8140); *Caylus* (1781) 54.

xci–xcii (40). Painting in a nymphaeum found under Palazzo Barberini, which soon disappeared when exposed to the air[1]: an engraving of it was published with text by Holste, *Vetus pictura Nymphaeum referens*, Rome, 1676 (also re-published in Graevius, *Thesaurus* iv. p. 1797, and copied by Bartoli, *Pict. Ant.* 13).

Other drawings are in Windsor Portfolio 5, 12080, 12081 (probably those originally taken for Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo, which the *Nota delli Musei* mentions).

xciii (41). Painting. Fruit-trees with goldfinches, greenfinches, and a redpoll. Like the Prima Porta fresco.

xciv (42). Mosaic. Hylas, from Basilica of Junius Bassus, once in the possession of Card. Massimi, now in Palazzo Albani—Del Drago. *Holk.* ii. 8; Windsor, *Mos. Ant.* i. 91 (9030); Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. t. 24; Bartoli, *App.* 14; M.-D. 4117.

xcv (43). Painting. Bellerophon and Stheneboia? *Eng.* p. xviii. and T. xv. 6.

xcvi (44). So-called Coriolanus. See *Eton* ii. 1, and Weege in *Jahrb. cit.* 220, No. 3.

xcvii. Blank.

xcviii (45). Mosaic of Temple of Fortune at Palestrina: right-hand bottom corner.

xcix. Blank.

c (46). Part of the same mosaic, right centre.

ci. Blank.

cii (47). Left bottom corner of the same mosaic.

ciii. Blank.

civ (48). Left centre of same mosaic.

cv (49). Part of the mosaic of S. Costanza, copied from Fr. d'Olanda.

[1] *Nota delli Musei*, p. 58 (an appendix to C. Rasponi, *Relatione della Corte di Roma*, Rome, 1664).

Cod. Esc. 28–i.–20, f. 27^{v}; Egger, *Krit. Verz.* Taf. ii. 2, cf. *Cod. Esc.* 4^{v}; (text, p. 60) *Eton* iv. 96.

cvi (50). Bartoli, *Pict. Ant.* 11.

cvii (51). Francesco d'Olanda, *Cod. Esc.* 28–i.–20, f. 14 (Egger, *Krit. Verz.* i. p. 16, Fig. 4); *Cors.* 155 (*Eng.* T. xiii. 6); Bartoli, *Pict. Ant.* 12.

cviii–cix (69). Blank. Between them is a large double plate with a wall in ten compartments, for which see *Eton* iii. 27; cf. *Holk.* ii. 42, 50, 38, 62; *Caylus* 2, 4, 12–14 (*Eng.* T. xxiv. 2, 4), for the details.

cx–cxix (52–61). Details from Raphael's Loggie.

cxx–cxxiv (62–66). Figures from the Pyramid of Cestius. These are found in vol. ii. of a second edition of Caylus (1783) which I have seen in the Bibliothèque Doucet at Paris, but which seems to be otherwise unknown (ff. 36–41).

cxx. Falconieri apud Nardini, *Roma Antica* vol. iv. T. iii. (i), and Graevius, *Thesaurus* iv. 1461; Bartoli, *Sep.* 66. Yellow tunic, cloak over legs blue and red.

cxxi. *ib.* iii. (ii). Bartoli, *Sep.* 68. Green lower robe, red and blue upper.

cxxii. *ib.* iii. (iii). Bartoli, *Sep.* 65. Yellow-green under robe; red upper, with broad blue border.

cxxiii. *ib.* iii. (iv). Bartoli, *Sep.* 67. Red cushion—drapery yellow, red, blue.

cxxiv. *ib.* iv. Bartoli, *Sep.* 69 (type resembles *Pict. Ant.* 7, but is not the same).

cxxv (67). Painting. Pilaster decoration: two cranes above, two panthers below; vine-leaves and grapes between. Identical with Windsor Portfolio 5, 12084.

cxxvi (68). Painting. Decoration of a wall. It is obviously a part of the same room as cviii., cix., but only six panels are partially preserved. The two uppermost figures on the right (a female figure in a panel to the right, a youth leaning against a pillar to the left) are given in *Holk.* ii. 50; the central figure below is given in *Vitt.* 27 (9589) = *Caylus* 3 (*Eng.* i. xxiv. 3), *ultra nella parte sinistra.*

cxxvii. The Volta d'Oro in the Golden House, after Francesco d'Olanda. *Cod. Esc.* 28–i.–20, f. 48*bis* (reproduced by Egger, *Cod. Esc.* Textband Taf. iii.; cf. his text, p. 65, and p. 7. n. 3). Cf. Bellori's text to Pietro S. Bartoli's *Sepolcro dei Nasonii* (1680), p. 8. (not in ed. 1738), and on *Eton* iii. 27; Weege, *Jahrb.* 166 and Taf. 6 (a coloured reproduction of this plate).

cxxviii–cxxxv. Blank.

PART IV.—THE CHATSWORTH SKETCH-BOOK.

This volume (Chatsworth, Table 5*b*, vol. 20) measures 254 × 183 m. (page size). It deals almost entirely with Palazzo Rospigliosi, and very largely with the wall shown in *Eton* iv. 39.

The isolated figures are shown in rectangular frames up to No. 39, after which the frames are round; and there is no background. See *P.B.S.R.* vol. vii. p. 2.

1. = *Eton* iv. 77, *q.v.*

2. = *Eton* i. 43.

3. Two scenes shown on double page.

To left a nude lion-tamer between two lions; a draped attendant with a plate (?) behind him. 387 × 255.

To right a man in toga seated on a rock to right, facing left; a slave (in yellow tunic) brings him a scroll. 362 × 255.

4. Mosaic.

To left man on bed with high back; a draped female attendant on his left. To spectator's right are four slaves, one carrying a dish, another a bundle on his right shoulder. An arched doorway to right, with a ladder in front of it.

5. = *Eton* i. 41, iv. 70.

6. = *Capp.* 284. 55 (a part of Bartoli, *App.* 4, 7).

7. = *Eton* iv. 61.

8. A similar figure, bearded, with yellow drapery; club in left, right uplifted.

9. Female figure standing in foliage, *cornucopiae* in right hand

downwards, with red roses in it; bare uplifted left arm over head. Compare *infra*, 33, and *Holk.* i. 49.

10. Nude leaf-crowned youth holds pink drapery over left shoulder; lowered right arm holds a bunch of grapes.

11. Nude youthful figure stands on foliage, left arm uplifted; right hand by side holds a two-handled jug. Over left forearm hangs a yellowish skin. Above is an architrave supported by two columns. Cf. *Eton* iv. 39, 5, 7.

12. Female figure in red-brown tunic and skirt, bare arms; left hand by side holds an arrow; right forearm upwards.

13. Bearded Hercules holds apples in right hand, club in left; crimson drapery over left shoulder.

14. Female figure in green and pink moving to right; torch in uplifted left; right arm stretched out.

15. = *Eton* iv. 65 (no wings).

16. = *Holk.* i. 10.

17. = *Eton* iv. 67.

18. = *Eton* iv. 49.

19. = *Eton* iv. 57 (but with flat basket of flowers in right).

20. = *Eton* iv. 60.

21. Resembles *Eton* iv. 49, but right arm holds bunch of grapes, and left a basket.

22. Female figure in pale mauve, pale green cloak, fastened on right shoulder; holds scroll in left hand, *cornucopiae* in right.

23. = *Eton* iv. 63.

24. Pose like 23. Laurel-crowned youth, turning to right, with blue cloak fastened on left shoulder; he holds a pine-cone (?) in right, and his left points to it.

25. = *Eton* iv. 58 (but stands on a pedestal): slightly resembles *Holk.* i. 40. Colours, yellow on blue.

26. = *Eton* iv. 39. 11; *Holk* i. 4.

27. Female figure, leaf-crowned, standing on foliage; yellow dress, green cloak; drinking-horn (?) in right, staff in left.

28. Female figure with fluttering drapery moves to her right; her left hand holds a rose chaplet over her head, her right holds out a bowl of roses. Drapery yellow over green.

29. = *Eton* iv. 62 (red cross-belt here).

30. = *Eton* iv. 53.

31. = *Capp.* 284. 26. Female figure on corbel base; left hand holds round dish, right in drapery (blue, with brown cloak).

32. = *Capp.* 284. 15. Female figure, olive-crowned, turns to right; her right hand holds an olive wreath, her left is in her drapery (green, with yellow cloak).

33. = *Holk.* i. 49; cf. *Capp.* 284. 47.

34. = *Eton* iv. 54 (drapery not over head, feet not winged); *Cameron* 42 (exactly).

35. Female figure with bat's wings pours out contents of large vessel; drapery crimson.

36. Nude male figure, helmeted; sword in right hand, shield in left; reddish-brown drapery, supported by scarf on left shoulder.

37. Male figure moving to his right; green cloak on left shoulder; right forearm towards chin, left (dropped) holds trident.

38. = *Eton* iv. 44 (but with large wings, and olive crown in left hand); *Cameron* 50 (exactly).

39. Female figure, yellow drapery, olive-crowned, holds a large mass of roses in front of her.

40. = *Capp.* 284. 47; *Cameron* 49. Female figure, blue tunic, red skirt, with yellow drapery flying behind, holds a bowl against her left side.

41. Winged figure in green holds a pink ribbon in front of her.

42. Nude Eros holds a green ribbon in front of him.

43. Female figure with halo, arms outstretched; greenish-brown drapery, red cloak.

44. = *Capp.* 284. 51; *Holk.* ii. 54. c. Female figure in green tunic, pink skirt, blue cloak; crescent and ears of corn in hair, fan in right, dish with serpent in left.

45. Man, with green loincloth and laced sandals, walks to his right, blowing a long pipe.

46. Cupid with green wings stands with his hands among a mass of roses resting on the stump of a tree.

47. Female figure with blue butterflies' wings reclines to left, holding a *cornucopiae* downwards, out of which issue roses. Drapery crimson.

48. A horned Satyr blowing pipes, walking to spectator's right.

49. = *Eton* i. 66 (drapery here bluish over green); *Capp.* 284. 64.

50. Female figure sits to left, holding a bowl in her left; yellow-brown drapery, crimson cloak.

51. Like *Eton* i. 48 in pose, but all drapery rose-pink, instead of dark pink over green, and wings are rounded.

52. = *Eton* i. 64.

53. Female figure in blue tunic and skirt, olive-crowned, holds a gold plate in her uplifted right hand, a gold pail (?) in her lowered left.

54. Female figure going to left holding a yellow casket in both hands; white veil, yellow tunic, drab skirt.

55. Female figure with blue butterflies' wings and greenish drapery moving to right, holds roses in right, in left a small phial from which she pours liquid. Cf. *Capp.* 284. 60.

56. Female with yellow butterflies' wings holds roses in each hand; drapery green.

57. = *Capp.* 284. 59. Female figure in light brown drapery holds a blue scarf over her head with both hands.

58. = *Eton* iv. 45 (colours differ).

59. Cf. *Capp.* 284. 63. Cupid sits on right, facing left, with six black fillets (?) in front of him on a frame (for these cf. *Eton* i. 40).

60. Cupid flies to spectator's right; yellow wings.

61. As 60 (blue wings); roses in lowered left hand, chaplet in right.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL. VIII. NO. 3.

THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI IN ROME.

BY THOMAS ASHBY, D.LITT., F.S.A.

THE Palazzo Odescalchi, a portion of which has served as the residence of the British School for a period of some fourteen years, is among the more remarkable of the palaces of Rome, both for its architectural qualities and its historical associations. Situated as it is in the centre of the city, close to the Piazza Venezia, on the west side of the spacious Piazza dei SS. Apostoli, and opposite the famous basilica which gives its name to the square, it is yet a little removed from any of the main lines of traffic, which pass close by it without actually touching it, and has thus preserved much of that quiet and stately beauty which must inevitably be in some measure sacrificed in the rush and bustle of modern life.

It has seemed to me that it would be a pity that the School should sever its connection with this splendid building without some attempt being made to give a short historical account of it, and I have therefore put together the material that I have been able to collect. My sincere acknowledgments are due to Prince Odescalchi, to Don Fabrizio Colonna, Prince of Paliano, and to Prince Chigi for their kind permission to examine the archives of their respective families, in which, however, there are unfortunately a number of *lacunae*. The greater proportion of the documents relating to the palace in the Odescalchi archives appears to have been destroyed in the fire of 1885; while the Colonna archives

do not contain as much information as might have been hoped in regard to the earlier history of the building.

The site in classical times formed a part of that of the barracks of the first cohort of the *vigiles*[1], which was also, no doubt, the headquarters of the whole fire brigade of the city, being a building with three large courtyards, which are shown in the Marble Plan of Septimius Severus. At a subsequent period there seem to have been considerable alterations made in its plan. On the west of it ran the Via Lata, still represented by the modern Corso, and on the south the paving of an ancient road has been found 4·50 m. below the modern Vicolo del Piombo, the narrow street between the Palazzo Odescalchi and the Palazzo Ruffo, running at right angles from the Corso as far as the Piazza SS. Apostoli.

On the north of the block is another narrow street, the Via dei SS. Apostoli, which is not of ancient origin.

In the northwest corner of the block Lanciani marks a pavement of travertine or marble as found in the ' Scavi Borruso ' of 1884, and close by, opposite the church of S. Maria in Via Lata, the Via Lata itself was spanned by the Arcus Novus of Diocletian,[2] which was destroyed under Innocent VIII.

The mediaeval topography of the block is dealt with by Corvisieri.[3] It was occupied by small houses, those which stood on the site of the palace[4] having been bought from Nicolò Sinibaldi of Villa S. Antimo and from Pietro, the son of Francesco, by one Dionigi di Giovanni, of Vimercate ; he sold them in 1365 to Giovanni di Filippo Visconti of Oleggio, whose chancellor and secretary he had been, and who died in the following year. Visconti's widow, Antonia Benzona, of Crema, subsequently

[1] Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3, 461 ; Lanciani, *Mon. Lincei*, i. (1891), 471 ; *Forma Urbis* f. 15, 16, 21, 22.

[2] Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3, 469.

The last remains of the arch disappeared in 1523 (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 217). One of the reliefs found on that occasion is perhaps still preserved in the Villa Medici (to the references given by Hülsen add *C.I.L.* vi. 31,383, and Stuart Jones in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, iii. 271).

[3] *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.* x. (1887), 631 *sqq.* and note 4, where he quotes a number of documents from the archives of S. Carlo al Corso.

[4] The boundaries of the property in 1366 and 1408 are compared in a document published by Lanciani (*A.S.R.S.P.* xx. (1897), 379). The houses of the Mancini dei Lucci probably did not extend beyond the area of the Palazzo Ruffo, inasmuch as the small street to the west of it, running southward from the Vicolo del Piombo, still bears the name of Vicolo Mancini.

founded a hospital for poor Lombard women in these houses,[1] which continued to exist, at first under the government of Franciscan and then of Dominican Tertiaries, until 1485,[2] when it passed to a larger Lombard institution, which had been founded in 1471, under the title of S. Ambrogio, near the church of S. Niccolo di Toffo or de Tufis, the predecessor of SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso, for which it made way in 1612.[3] The houses now became part of the capital of the new hospital, and were

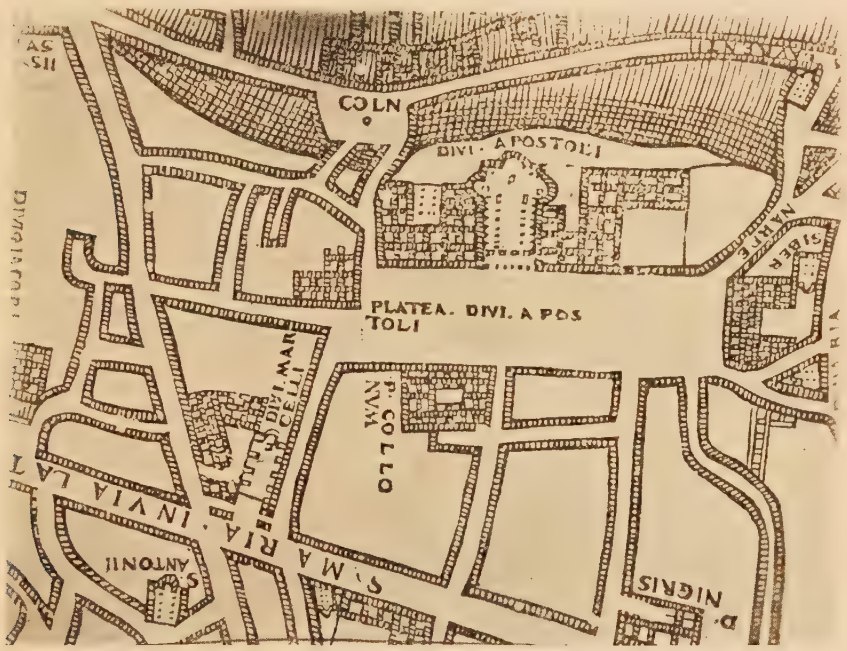


FIG. 1.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI IN THE PLAN OF BUFALINI (1551).

let in emphyteusis to various tenants, among them the Colonna family, who had a palace there. We can obtain some idea of the appearance of this building from the contemporary plans and bird's-eye views of

[1] The foundation was ratified by a notarial document given at Crema on September 22, 1388. Her death was followed by considerable litigation, which did not end until 1446.

[2] I cannot fix the site of the *Una domus posita e conspectu SS. Apostolorum* given to the hospital of the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran by Lippa, widow of Ceccho di Antonio di Giovanni di Giuliano on May 27, 1452 (Archives of the Sancta Sanctorum, notary *Thomas Bartolommei Serentii de Leis*, f. 130 of the book of instruments). The document is cited by Jacovacci, *Cod. Ottob.* 2553, S. f. 943. I have not seen the original.

[3] Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 337.

Rome, which are such a valuable source of information for its topography and appearance.

Bufalini's plan of 1551 shows that there had been a palace of the Colonna family (*P. Collonum*) existing at least since that date in the southeast portion of the block, with a garden adjoining it on the north-

FIG. 2.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI IN THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ÉTIENNE DU PÉRAC (1577).

east, the streets being arranged as at present (Fig. 1). The panorama of Pinardo (1555)[1] shows a tower at the southeast corner, but the houses and streets are conventionally rendered; and the first source of real information is the fine bird's-eye view of Étienne Du Pérac (1577), in which the palace is shown as a building with the main door opening from the

[1] Rocchi, *Piante di Roma*, Plate iv. Quaritch, No. 5 (see *Bernard Quaritch's Rough List*, No. 138); Hülsen in *A.S.R.S.P.* xxxviii. (1915), p. 45, No. 17.

Platea SS. Apostolorum into a courtyard; on the right of it are three small houses, and behind them a garden (conventionally shown as having only two trees in it) surrounded by a wall. Behind it are other small houses and gardens (Fig. 2).[1]

Mario Cartaro, in his large view of modern Rome, gives a representation which is similar, but slightly less accurate in details;[2] and the same may be said of Greuter (1618).[3] Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna (cardinal 1565–97) who appears as the owner of the palace as early as 1568[4] seems to have rebuilt it before his death, though the exact date at which he did so is not known. On August 10, 1588, he received a donation by letters patent of three *oncie* of the Acqua Felice, the new aqueduct which Pope Sixtus V. completed in that very year.[5].

The building represented in the woodcut of Franzini[6] and in the bird's-eye views of Tempesta (1597, Fig. 3)[7] and Maupin (1625 *c*[a], Fig. 4),[8] is quite different from the previous one; it is placed in the centre of the block, with a loggia[9] over the entrance, and having the west side of the courtyard opening on to the garden, while on the east side there

[1] Ehrle, *La Pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafrèry del* 1577; Hülsen, Nos. 73–75; Ashby, *Topographical Study in Rome in* 1581, p. 26.

[2] Rocchi, *op. cit.* tav. xvi.; Hülsen, No. 72.

[3] Hülsen, Nos. 102–104.

[4] Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iv. 7, cites, from Arch. Vat. *Diversorum*, tom. 232, *c.* 184*a*, *licentia effodiendi d. Marcantonio card. Columnae in platea sanctorum apostolorum et prope palatium suum*, granted on July 6, 1568.

There is a document in the Archivio Colonna (III. A, A. 202) which records a settlement arrived at on June 2, 1581, between Giulio Cesare Colonna of Gallicano and Clarice Anguillara Colonna, both in her own name, and as guardian of her daughters Giulia, Placidia, and Flaminia, and of Martio Colonna, husband of the first named. In this it is decided that *la Casa di Roma con il Giardino, et le casette contigue, et tutte le loro pertinentie, siano, et spettino di pieno dominio al detto Sig. Giulio per scudi sessantamila.* But this cannot refer to the Cardinal's palace.

[5] *Arch. Chigi*, Roma, Posiz. SS. Apostoli; with it is a renewal of the concession by Alexander VII. on April 11th, 1663.

[6] *Palatia Procerum Romanae Urbis*, 1596, signature F 2, which shows Maderna's late Renaissance façade rather conventionally, with the main door at one side of it.

[7] See Hülsen, Nos. 84–87. The 1664 edition of Tempesta (from which our illustration is taken) has had the legend *Pal(azzo) de Gallicano* added, but the representation of the palace has not been altered.

[8] Ehrle, *La Pianta di Roma Maggi-Maupin-Losi*; Hülsen, p. 25 (where he points out that it is copied from Tempesta's view) and No. 106.

The views of De Veen (1593; Hülsen, No. 83), and Maggi-De Schaichis (1603; Hülsen, No. 98) show the block entirely occupied by small houses.

[9] It is a small square structure, open on all sides, used as a kind of summer-house: it is a familiar feature in the late Renaissance palaces of Rome.

is an arcade supported by columns on the ground floor. The south and west sides of the block are occupied by small houses.

In the guide books of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century there are no allusions to the palace, and the attribution of the building to Carlo Maderna is first met with in the legend to Falda's view (Fig. 5).

The palace became the residence of that branch of the Colonna

FIG. 3.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI IN THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF TEMPESTA (1597).

family which took its princely title from the village of Gallicano; but the extravagance of Marzio Colonna was such that in 1615 it was necessary to lay a charge upon the building;[1] and on September 28th, 1622, Pierfrancesco Colonna, Duke of Zagarolo, was obliged to sell Zagarolo, Colonna, Gallicano, and Passerano to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi for

[1] See a brief of Paul V. of June 4th of that year, cited by Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana Antica, Medioevale, e Moderna*, iii. 431.

860,000 scudi, the title of Prince of Gallicano passing to the purchaser after two years. The vendors reserved to themselves all the statues, and such pictures as were not fixed into any of the buildings so as to form integral parts of them.[1] The text of the documents relating to the papal permission[2] for the sale seems to warrant the supposition that the sale of the palace to Cardinal Ludovisi had been previously effected, but had not been sufficient to pay the Duke's debts ; while the

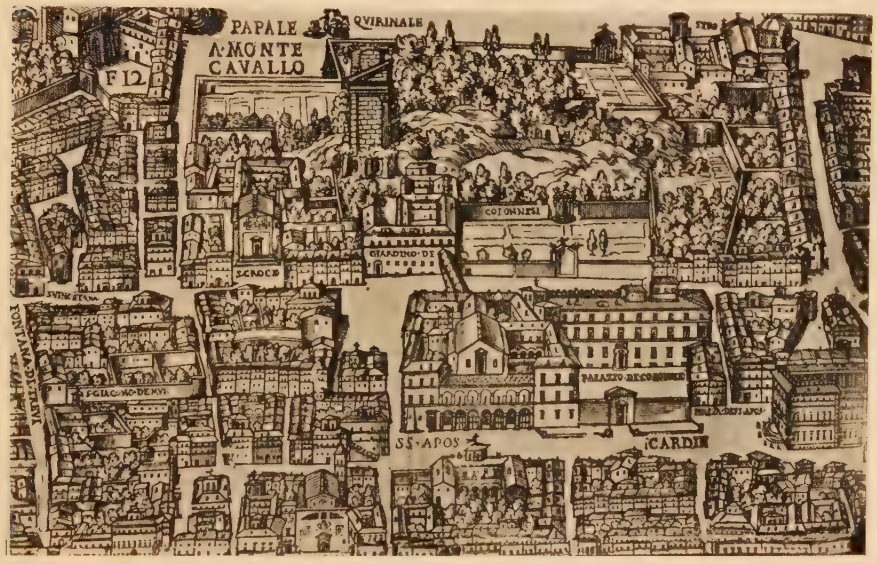


FIG. 4.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI IN THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF MAUPIN (1625 *circa*).

deed of sale to the Cardinal mentions the palace only once, but in such a way as though it were included in the sale with the rest.

The remains of the archives of the Boncompagni-Ludovisi family seem, from rough notes which Sig. Francesco Tomassetti has been kind enough to give me, to contain documents which may throw further light on the question[3] ; but owing to the exigencies of military service,

[1] *Arch. Col. Perg.* xxviii. 31 (Appendix No. I.) ; cf. Tomassetti, *op. cit.* iii. 418, 431, 509, 520.

[2] *Arch. Col.* ix. 5 (Appendix No. II.).

[3] There is another copy of the deed of sale, with the papal permission ; and there are some earlier documents relating to purchases of houses and land made by members of the Colonna family.

he has been unable to carry his researches further at the present moment. I reserve to myself, therefore, the right to return to the subject under more favourable circumstances.

The supposition we have made is confirmed by the fact that Cardinal Ludovisi was the last tenant in emphyteusis of the houses which belonged to S. Ambrogio, and that he freed them from the annual rent of 15 scudi by a cash payment of 800 scudi to the hospital.[1]

But, if the sale actually took place, it can only have been of a purely temporary nature, and the right of repurchase must have been exercised shortly afterwards. This is clear from the guide books of a few years

FIG. 5.—THE PALAZZO CHIGI (ODESCALCHI) IN 1665 *circa*.

later, which speak of the 'most noble palace of the Colonna of Gallicano, very well built, and adorned with a fine garden.'[2] I may also note that a document of 1637 in the Ludovisi archives relates to the lease of a palace (probably this one) to Nicolo Ludovisi by Pompeo Colonna.

Nor is there any allusion to the fact that the palace had ever passed out of the possession of the Colonna family in the voluminous documents relating to its sale to Cardinal Flavio Chigi in 1661 (see Appendix No. III.). From these we learn that Pompeo Colonna, Prince of Gallicano

[1] Corvisieri, *loc. cit.* The instrument is dated August 18. Corvisieri does not give the year, but it was apparently 1622 (document in the Ludovisi archives).

[2] This passage is found in the 1638 edition (the earliest known to me) of the *Roma Moderna*, published by Pompilio Totti (p. 286); it is repeated in the editions of 1643 (p. 117) and 1653 (p. 123).

(by virtue of what right he retained the title is not altogether clear) had, in the first days of the year 1661, left (see Appendix No. IV.) the use of the palace for life to Cardinal Flavio Chigi, who was only in his thirty-first year. The Cardinal, however, desired to purchase it, together with a house behind it, which is referred to in the codicil to the will, and which was entered from the Corso. He therefore, through the

Del Palazzo de' Ghigi.
Quì dirimpetto ſi vede l'altro nobil palazzo, già de' Signori Colonneſi di Gallicano, poſſeduto preſentemente dal Signor Cardinal Flauio Chigi Nipote del Pontefice Aleſandro VII. che l'hebbe in dono dall'vltimo Prencipe di Gallicano, morto ſenza ſucceſſione, & è conſiderabile per la riſtoratione fattagli dal medemo Signor Cardi-
na-

FIG. 6.—THE PALAZZO CHIGI (ODESCALCHI) IN 1689.

intermediation of Cardinal Sforza Pallavicini, arranged to buy the palace outright from Stefano Colonna, the heir of Pompeo, for 25,000 scudi, the price being fixed in consideration of the life interest which Flavio Chigi had in the palace. The contract of sale was signed on December 29th, 1661, in the absence of Cardinal Chigi, and ratified by him on January 21, 1662, after his return to Rome.

In 1665 Cardinal Flavio Chigi handed over the completion of the

palace to Lorenzo Bernini.[1] Later in the same year, when Bernini was in France, occupied in the execution of a bust of Louis XIV., the Cardinal wrote that, owing to the trouble that was being taken by Lorenzo's brother Luigi, the façade of the palace was progressing well. It is imitated from the lateral palaces of the Capitol. An idea of its appearance may be gained from various contemporary views—that of Falda (1665) in the *Vedute delle Fabriche, Piazze e Strade fatte fare nuovamente in Roma*, the elevation by Falda in the *Palazzi di Roma*[2] (Fig. 5), that which

PALAZZO NELLA PIAZZA DE S.S APOSTOLI RISTAVRATO ET ADORNATO DALL'EM.^MO SIG.^R CARDINAL FLAVIO CHIGI
ORA DELL'ECCELENT.^MO SIG.^R PRENCIPE CHIGI
Architettura del Cav.^r Gio Lorenzo Bernino.

FIG. 7. – THE PALAZZO CHIGI (ODESCALCHI) IN 1699.

appears in various editions of the *Roma Moderna* (Fig. 6),[3] and that of Specchi (1699) in the *Primo Libro del Nuovo Teatro dei Palazzi di Roma moderna*, Pl. 26 (Fig. 7).

In these views, and especially the last, we notice that the original

[1] Fraschetti, *Il Bernini*, 297, 351, who cites from the Archivio Chigi two certificates given by Bernini in March of that year to the Cardinal that he might safely pay 200 scudi to a builder and 300 to a stonecutter on account.

[2] The legend to this view states that the plan and the interior are the work of Carlo Maderna, who must therefore have been responsible for the previously existing façade.

[3] P. 288 of the edition of 1689. This is perhaps the first edition in which this and other similar engravings appear.

building was far better proportioned than the present one, and that the wings bore a proper relation to the central portion. In the background on the right we see the courtyard of the palace, upon which that of the

FIG. 8.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN 1676.

present building has undoubtedly been modelled, and in front of it was a garden, round which, in Falda's view, there is a high wall, while in Specchi's there is a lower wall, with a fountain in the piazza bearing the

Chigi arms. In the garden itself Specchi shows us the fountain which is now in the courtyard of the present building, and also indicates a lateral

FIG. 9.—THE FIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN 1680.

staircase leading down to it. In these details he is probably more correct than Falda, whose engraving can hardly have been published

before the completion of the building; and, as a fact, Falda himself, in his bird's-eye view of 1676, omits the loggia which he had indicated at the summit of the building, and shows a formal garden with a fountain in the centre (Fig. 8).

The plan of Matteo Gregorio de Rossi (1680) (Fig. 9)[1] which is of some interest for the topography of the district at this time, marks a *Pal(azzo) de Mencarini* in the western portion of the block, fronting on to the Corso. It had as a fact been built in 1662 for the Duke of Nevers by Carlo Rainaldi; though the original edition of Falda's bird's-eye view shows only small houses on the site, whereas the editions of 1697 and 1705 show the palace, under the more correct designation of Mazzarini. It was bought by Louis XIV. for the French Academy, and after the transference of the latter to Villa Medici, changed hands several times.[2]

Cardinal Chigi's library[3] was of considerable importance, while his castle at Formello[4] to the north of the site of Veii, contained a collection of geological and natural history specimens.

He also possessed a fine picture gallery, a short list of the contents of which is given in the guide books of the period.[5]

Lanciani[6] notes various antiques mentioned by Ficoroni and Bartoli as having passed into his possession.[7] They probably continued to belong

[1] Hülsen, p. 94, Nos. 128, 129.

[2] Cállari, *Palazzi di Roma*, p. 262.

[3] *Nota delli Musei, Librerie, Galerie ecc.* Roma, 1664 (annexed to the 1664 edition of Lunadoro's *Relatione della Corte di Roma*), p. 17. Cardinale Flauio Chigi. Biblioteca celebre di ottimi autori in ogni studio di lettere numerosissima & scelta delle migliori impressioni, nel palazzo a Santi Apostoli, con ornamenti di pitture di chiari Artefici, & di statue antiche, e col Museo delle curiosità naturali, peregrine, ed antiche; nel suo castello di Formello.

[4] Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana Antica, Medioevale e Moderna*, iii. 102, who describes the villa that the Cardinal caused to be constructed there in 1670–82, in imitation of the splendours of Versailles. (An inventory of the few antiques which it contained in 1705 in *Doc. Ined.* iv. p. 407, and of those preserved at Formello in 1793, *ib.* p. 417.)

[5] *Description de la ville de Rome par F. D. P.* (1690), tom. ii. p. 151 *sqq.*

[6] *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 153.

[7] Ficoroni, *Mem.* 103 (*ap.* Fea, *Misc.* i. 168); Bartoli, *Mem.* 9 (Fea, *cit.* 224). 'In the papacy of Innocent X. there was found in the Orto Cornovaglia (the Orto Botanico on the Caelian) a lioness of granite (porphyry, according to Bartoli) which was in the possession of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, and has with other statues now gone to adorn the palace of the Elector at Dresden in Saxony' (see the inventory in *Documenti Inediti*, ii. p. 178, No. 67). Bartoli, *Mem.* 57 (Fea, *cit.* 236). 'In making the foundations of the new fountain on the same side as the new porticos (i.e. in the Piazza di S. Pietro, on the left) there were found some ancient sarcophagi, without its being possible to conjecture whether

to the family, and passed to Palazzo Chigi in Piazza Colonna. The interest which the Cardinal took in antiquities is further vouched for by the dedication to him by Pietro Sante Bartoli of the *Admiranda*[1]; a part of the title page, with the beginning of the dedication and a portrait of the Cardinal, is here reproduced (Fig. 10).

EMIN^MO ET REV^MO PRINCIPI
FLAVIO CHISIO S.R.E. CARDINALI AMPLISS.
Vrbis aeterna terrarum olim, rerumq. Dominæ hiſce meis typis expreſſa ſe ſe exeruit Maieſtas EM PRINCEPS.
utraque non cecidere amplius, ſed ſuo mox cinere obruta iacent, caelturæ miraculo inarmorea, et Au-
guſta e ſepulcro reuiniſcat. Diem tamen ſuum non prius expetit quam Tua ſe ſe induat luce: nihil enim hac

FIG. 10.—PART OF THE DEDICATION OF THE *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum* OF PIETRO SANTE BARTOLI.

In 1693 the Cardinal died, and by his will left his possessions, except those in Tuscany, to the heirs of the Chigi family.[2]

The palace was let in the next year to Don Livio Odescalchi, nephew

they were Christian or Pagan; one of which was conveyed to the garden of the palace of Cardinal Chigi.'

Id. *Mem.* 147 (*Roma Antica* (1741) i. 363; Fea, *cit.* 266). '(In the time of Innocent X.) there was discovered (in the villa of Domitian at Castel Gandolfo) a staircase . . . adorned with four most beautiful Fauns . . . the Fauns I think are in Palazzo Chigi.' (*Doc. Ined. cit.* No. 38).

Id. *Mem.* 152 (*Roma Antica, cit.* 355; Fea, *cit.* 269); Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 65. '(At Isola Farnese) above there is a great plateau, sown with corn; on which at the time of Pope Alexander VII., Cardinal Chigi ordered excavations to be made, and a very beautiful temple of the Ionic order with fluted columns was found. . . . An altar with very beautiful Etruscan figures, five palms (1·11 m.) high, was found, which is now preserved in the palace of Cardinal Chigi.'

[1] The first edition of the *Admiranda* appeared in 1680; the second in 1693.

[2] The library and the natural history museum were amalgamated with the library founded by Alexander VII. in the Palazzo Chigi in Piazza Colonna; see Piazza. *Delle Librerie Romane* (appendix to his *Eusevologio Romano*, ed. ii. 1698), p. cxix. Aggiunge grande splendore, e splendidezza a questa Libreria Palazzo e Famiglia, l'accrescimento della celebre Biblioteca del Cardinale Flavio Chigi di chiara memoria, fornita d'autori d'ogni studio di Lettere, e scelta delle migliori impressioni, col Museo delle curiosità naturali, peregrine, e antiche.

of Pope Innocent XI.,[1] who had purchased the Dukedom of Bracciano from the Orsini in 1693.

He had bought in 1691 the collections, which Queen Christina of Sweden had formed from various sources,[2] from the property left by her intimate friend and heir Cardinal Decio Azzolini[3] to his nephew, Marchese Pompeo Azzolini.

The collection of gems and coins consisted of 6,292 pieces, and a description of it had been in contemplation, but the plates, 103 in number, which had been engraved by Pietro Sante Bartoli, were only published in 1747[4] in two volumes, with an index, but no further text, to each. A few small bronzes[5] were included among them, but in the main they refer to the gems. A second edition appeared in 1751–2, with text by Nicola Galeotti and Bussi.

The collection was sold to the Vatican in 1794 for 20,000 scudi.[6] With it was the famous cameo at one time supposed to represent

[1] For the family of the Odescalchi, who came from the Valtellina, see F. de Bojani, *Innocent XI.* (1910), Chap. I. Don Livio was the son of the Pope's eldest brother, Carlo Odescalchi, who had married a lady of the Cusani family. (Bojani, p. 6.) After the death of his father in 1673, Livio was adopted by his uncle, who summoned him to Rome. See the interesting account with full documentary evidence given by Bojani (p. 8 f. ; p. 16 ff.), of the relations between uncle and nephew.

[2] De Bildt, *Les Médailles romaines de Christine de Suède*, p. 20.

[3] De Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolino* (Paris, 1899).

[4] *Museum Odescalchum sive Thesaurus antiquarum Gemmarum quae a serenissima Christina Suecorum regina collectae in Museo Odescalco asservantur, et a Petro sancte Bartolo quondam incisae, nunc primum in lucem proferuntur. Romae, MDCC xlvii. Prostant apud Venantium Monaldini Bibliopolam in Via Cursus.* The frontispiece, engraved by Karl Gustav von Amling in 1702 (the year of his death), represents the young King of Sweden, according to Sotheby's catalogue ; Meyer treats it as an unknown portrait. He also engraved a portrait of Don Livio Odescalchi. Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, i. 409; (Th. Hampe, art. 'Amling'); Meyer, *Allgemeines Künstler-lexikon*, i. 639, Nos. 89, 113. [A short, but good account of the collection is given by Furtwaengler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii. p. 408, who states that a first edition of forty-three of Bartoli's prints was issued soon after the Duke's death in 1713, with Amling's title-page of 1702. No sort of order was observed in the arrangement of the plates, either of the earlier edition or of that of 1747, and there was no text.]

[5] The small bronze Venus figured on Plate 35 of the *Museum Odescalchum*, and repeated from that illustration by Clarac 610, 1354 (327, 5 R) has disappeared (Hübner, p. 13). It was originally in the collection of the antiquary Borioni. Among the other bronzes reproduced in *Mus. Odesc.* were two statuettes of Priapus ; Reinach, *Répert*, ii. 73, 7, ii. 74, 2 (see also *Bonner Jahrb.* 27, Pl. 2, No. 3, p. 56) ; a so-called 'Genius of Plenty' or 'Vertumnus' *ibid.* ii. 47, 7 ; also group of bull and bear, *ibid.* ii. 737, 6 ; a bust of Zeus with winged thunderbolt (*Museum*, Pl. 33) ; a bust of Serapis (*ib.* Pl. 34) and a number of reliefs with sacred subjects belonging to bases or altars. The present whereabouts of these pieces is unknown.

[6] There is a catalogue of the coins printed in *Doc. Ined.* iii. 293 *sqq.* which served for checking the collection when it came into the Vatican.

Augustus and Livia (more correctly Alexander and Olympias)[1] originally in the collection of the Gonzaga family at Mantua. Under Napoleon, however, the splendid gem apparently migrated to Paris with the rest and eventually came into the possession of the Empress Josephine, who in 1814 presented it to the Emperor Alexander I. of Russia. Since then it has ranked among the greatest art treasures of the Hermitage.[2]

The coins passed to France by the treaty of Tolentino in 1797, and were incorporated in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1799.[3]

In 1699 Don Livio gave hospitality to Maria Casimira, the widowed Queen of Poland, whose father, the Cardinal d'Archieti, inhabited the Palazzo Cibo, now the Palazzo Ruffo, which was then connected with the Palazzo Odescalchi by an archway over the Vicolo del Piombo. She remained his guest until 1702.

Valesio tells us in his diary for the 2nd of July, 1701,[4] how the cardinal's servants, in order to kill the mosquitos, placed lighted braziers of sulphur in some of the rooms, and closed the windows, and by this means succeeded not only in killing the mosquitos, but in ruining some of Don Livio's furniture, and valuable pictures and hangings. We hear also how in July (*Diary* for the 10th), 1703,[5] Don Livio was swindled by some northerners, of the Dousterswivel order, who announced that a great treasure was hidden near Palo, and agreed to share the investigation with him on the understanding that they should have several hundred scudi when the first objects were found, and several thousand when the whole treasure was discovered. They began to dig in various places, and found a number of coins and three ancient lamps which they were supposed to have hidden themselves; these they presented to Don Livio, and received the first reward, after which they were no more seen.

[1] The gem is published in the *Museum Odescalchum*, Pl. 15, with the inscription 'Olimpia & Alexandro.' Subsequently various other interpretations were proposed which are fully enumerated by Furtwaengler, *op. cit.* text to Pl. XLIII. 2. E. Q. Visconti (*Icon: Grecque*, iii. p. 204, Pl. 53, No. 3), however, maintained the Alexander and Olympias theory, which was also supported by Furtwaengler, and now seems generally accepted. The latest discussion is by J. J. Bernoulli, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen*, 1905, p. 126 ff. The cameo, a large sardonyx in three layers, is held by Furtwaengler to be only very slightly inferior in quality to the cameo with the same subject in Vienna.

[2] On all this see Furtwaengler, *loc., cit.*, and *Beschr. Roms*, iii. 3. 178.

[3] Gaebler, *Die Münzsammlung der Königin Christine von Schweden* in *Corolla Numismatica* (Oxford, 1906).

[4] *Archivio Storico Capitolino*, Cred. xiv. vol. 11, f. 109v. [5] *Ibid.* vol. 13, f. 132v.

Don Livio also purchased the Villa Montalto at Frascati, presumably from the Peretti family.[1]

Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi dedicated to him the set of engravings of gardens of Rome by Giovanni Battista Falda, which he published.[2] The graceful title page is given as our Fig. 11.

In 1700 he erected the tomb of his uncle Innocent XI. (d. 1689) in S. Peter's. In the statue, which is the work of Étienne Monnat,

FIG. 11.—TITLE-PAGE OF FALDA'S *Giardini Romani*.

the Pope is represented in the act of benediction; while a bas-relief records the liberation of Vienna from the Turks.[3]

In 1713, the year of his death, he erected the hospital and church

[1] Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 54; *Papers of the British School at Rome*, v. 250. Mattei (*Memorie dell' Antico Tuscolo*, 18), writing in 1713, is the first author who speaks of it as *Villa Odescalca*. In 1835 it was sold to the Collegio di Propaganda Fide. It now belongs to Duke Grazioli.

[2] *Li Giardini Romani*. The plates still exist at the Regia Calcografia, but not, apparently, that of the frontispiece.

[3] Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. vi. p. 164, No. 607.

of S. Galla,[1] an illustration of which is given in the *Secondo Libro del Nuovo Splendore delle Chiese di Roma Moderna* (ed. 1773), Pl. 30. The architect was Mattia de Rossi.

By his will,[2] bearing date September 8th, he ordered his heir, Baldassare Erba, to assume his name, to construct a magnificent sepulchral chapel in the church of the SS. Apostoli, and to maintain open house in Rome; and authorised him, if he wished to purchase the palace, to take the necessary capital from the family resources. He forbade him to sell any of his collections, particularly those which he had bought from the Queen of Sweden, unless at a considerable profit; and the price accepted for the whole was not to be less than 380,000 scudi; as a justification for this, he had, he added, already had an offer of 600,000 scudi for her furniture at the beginning of the war, while the Queen herself had once refused an offer from France of 100,000 scudi for the tapestries of Raphael (see below).

The statues which were in the Palazzo Odescalchi at the time of his death were described in an inventory drawn up in the same year.[3] The great majority of them came from the collection of Queen Christina, and are expressly noted as having been so acquired. The lists in the guide books of the period naturally name only the more important statues, and the arrangement in rooms is somewhat different. The description of Pinarolo, *Roma Moderna*, 1703, ii. p. 66, 1713, ii. p. 69, 1725, iii. p. 2, is identical with that of the *Descrizione di Roma Moderna* 1708 and 1719, p. 38, and of Deseine (1713), *Rome Moderne*, i. p. 216. It may be interesting to quote the last named:

Devant l'église des Saints *Apôtres* il y a le Palais qui fut bâti pour le Card. *Flavio Chigi*, sur le dessein du *Cavalier Bernin*. Le prince Don *Livio Odescalchi* neveu d'*Innocent XI* y demeure. L'on remarque dans la Cour deux Statuës singulières de *César Auguste* and de *Caligula*. Les Apartemens sont remplis de meubles les plus précieux, qui appartenoient à la Reine *Christine* de *Suede* à la *Longara*, que ce Prince a aquis de ses héritiers: entr' autres ses belles tapisseries de hautes lices d'or & de

[1] Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. xii. pp. 407, 409, Nos. 501, 502; the hospice of S. Michele a Ripa was built by Mgr. Carlo Tommaso Odescalchi, another nephew of Pope Innocent XI. (*op. cit.* vol. xi. p. 508, No. 732; cf. p. 504).

[2] This document, drawn up by the notary Leandro Antonio Caioli, is now preserved in the Archivio Notarile Distrettuale in Rome (*Arch.* 16, vol. 280, parte 2a, f. 112 *sqq.*) where I have examined it.

[3] *Archivio Storico Capitolino*, sez. v. prot. 15–16; printed in *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia*, iv. pp. 329 *sqq.*

soie, de l' Histoire d' *Auguste, Marc Antoine,* & *Cléopatre* du dessein de *Raphaël* & de *Jule Romain.* Entre les Statuës, celle de *Clytie* changée en souci : celles de *Trajan, Antonin Pie,* & *Marc Aurèle ;* la Statuë de *Vesta ;* la Tête du Roi *Pyrrhus,* & d' *Alexandre le Grand ;* celles des neuf *Muses, Apollon* & *Jupiter,* de *Castor* & *Pollux,* & de *Leda ;* une Statuë singulaire d'un *Faune,* qui porte un agneau sur ses épaules ; Une Statuë de *Jule Cesar,* dont le corps est d'agate & albâtre ; mais la tête, les bras, and les jambes, sont de bronze doré : un Bas-relief de marbre, avec un sacrifice de *Bacchus* : un boeuf and une vache de marbre, fort expressifs : plusieurs Colonnes d'albâtre de diverses couleurs, & de verd antique de diverses espèces : & sur quelques-unes il y a des statuës, quantité de Tables d'albâtre, & une d'amethiste Orientale.

The collection of statuary was sold in 1724 by the prince of Erba,[1] the heir of Don Livio, to Philip V. of Spain, through the intermediation of the sculptor, Camillo Rusconi, who was authorised by Cardinal Acquaviva, the Spanish plenipotentiary in Rome. The price paid was 12,000 doubloons (about £9,400).[2]

[1] Elba is an obvious error in Hübner's text. Innocent XI.'s sister had married one of the Erba of Milan ; for the subsequent relationship see Bojani, p. 5, note 3.

[2] So Ponz, *Viage de España* (1781), x. p 118, quoted by Hübner, *Antike Bildwerke in Madrid,* p. 14. As Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain,* p. 66) points out, Winckelmann (in a letter to Mengs of Nov. 18, 1761, reprinted in *Opere di R. Mengs,* Rome, 1787, p. 420) states the price at 51,000 scudi (about £11,500) and Fea *Storia delle Arti di Disegno,* ii. p. 38) at 25,000 doppi, or nearly 75,000 scudi (about £16,800).

The following numbers in Hübner's *Antike Bildwerke in Madrid* can be identified (and further study might well reveal more) as having belonged to the Odescalchi collection from the inventory already cited. The paragraphs of the inventory are not numbered, but the following arbitrary numbering may be of use as a guide to the reader. It did not seem worth while to repeat the whole text of the inventory ; this I reserve for a later occasion.

Hübner.	*Inv.*	*Hübner.*	*Inv.*	*Hübner.*	*Inv.*
2 (or 3)	70 (?)	59	81	191	Not 81a (testa moderna di Cicerone in marmo)
4	107	60	15		
5	97	63	53		
9	20	67	62		
14	106	68	17	198	10
21	74	75	18 (?)	205	39
23	46 (?)	76, 77	77	208	25
24	75	81	16	209	99
26	61	82	18 (or 75?)	216	26 (?)
28	83	83	19	219, 220	35, 36
29	60	84	73	243	9 (?)
31	83a (?)	86	86 (?)	264	87
33	102	93	98	268	11
34	104	96	8	274	4
36	72	102	24	275	5 (?)
37	Not 100 (which is too small)	103	2 (?)	289	103
		104	6 (?)	335, 336	21, 22 (but these are larger)
40	93	119	84		
41	1	185	7		
45	47	188	59	9*, 11*, 19*, 29*,	12a, 23,? 37, 38.
48–56	27–34				

The descriptions in *Roma Antica e Moderna,* 1745, ii. 140 (= 1750, ii. p. 277) and also

The statues now in the palace have, therefore, been acquired since the sale of the older Odescalchi collection to the King of Spain. They consist of[1] :—

(*a*) *Male draped statue*, of the type known as a 'consul' or an 'orator,' with the right hand projecting from the drapery.

The ancient head (nose restored) is connected with the body by a neck of disproportionate length, but the head probably belongs to the statue, as the patina and execution of both seem the same. The treatment of the eyes indicates that it belongs to the third century A.D. The body below the arms (excluding r. and l. arms and hands) and the legs, are antique, but the feet and plinth are modern, and there is a large patch of drapery restored over the right foot. A *scrinium* or *capsa* on the left has been roughly blocked out.

(*b*) *Female statue*, with an ancient head (nose restored) which seems foreign to it. The head is of a severe matronal type, with the heavy crown of plaits characteristic of the Trajanic period. The antique torso is a copy of an Hellenistic type, with high girdling. The breasts have been chiselled away. *Modern*: left forearm, with the hand, which holds a patera; entire right arm and hand; legs, from midthigh, with feet and plinth.

(*c*) *Male torso restored as Herakles.* Over life size. The torso and the right leg to the knee are alone ancient; the left arm holding the apples was probably restored from the shoulder, and rebroken. The right arm hung by the side. According to Arndt the style of the torso recalls in various respects the style of the Omphalos Apollo. The restoration, with the bearded head, belongs to the late Renaissance, but is probably correct (Matz-Duhn, 108; *E.A.* 2062).

(*d*) *Nude male torso.* Above life size, restored with head of ephebe; the torso, which is of Polycleitan type and rather heavy, is slightly inclined to the front, to the left, as though the figure were moving forward. The right arm was hanging down, the left was bent at the elbow. The workmanship seems mediocre, and Mr. Parsons

Venuti's account (*Roma Moderna*, ed. 1767, 8vo, vol. i. p. 255) are quite inaccurate. He begins by copying some phrases from the *Roma Moderna* of 1708, p. 381, attributing the statues in the courtyard to the remains of the Chigi collection, and then proceeds to describe as still existing in the upper rooms numerous statues which had already been conveyed to Spain, again copying the description already cited.

The same is the case with the account in the 1763 edition of Titi's *Studio di Pittura* (ed. 1763) p. 316, which was also revised by Venuti.

[1] The lettering begins at the southeast angle of the courtyard, near the entrance. Those in the courtyard, with the exception of *k* and *l*, have been placed there since 1881. The descriptions of the statues were to have been revised and completed by Mrs. Strong, who, however, owing to a somewhat severe accident, was unable to see to the matter. Both Mrs. Strong and I here desire to record our gratitude to Mr. Harold Parsons and to the Russian archaeologist, Dr. E. de Mercklin, not only for kindly undertaking the revision and supplying references, but also for carefully verifying on the originals the statements in Matz-Duhn and in the text of the *Einzelaufnahmen*. To Mr. Parsons, moreover, we owe important references for the subsequent history of certain of the pictures.

and Dr. de Mercklin, in their careful examination of the statue, could find about it none of the 'vortreffliche Arbeit' noted by Arndt, who probably judged from the excellent photograph made for the *E.A.* rather than from the original itself. Matz-Duhn, 1010; *E.A.* 2063.

(*e*) *Draped male statue:* of the same type as (*a*). The head is modern and very much weathered; the rest is of common Luna marble. The figure is broken right through, above the feet and at top of capsa, and this lower portion has been clumsily readjusted.

(*f*) *Draped female statue:* The head (left eyebrow damaged; nose and upper lip restored), is antique, but may not belong to the figure; it is of the type of the period of Julia Mammaea, with a broad plait brought up from the nape of the neck to the front. The coiffure is interesting, but the head has been drastically cleaned, probably with acids. *Restored:* The neck and left shoulder, the l. forearm, the r. arm including the drapery just above, bits of drapery on the left; the right kneecap, the r. foot and forepart of l. foot and plinth.

The drapery across the body and gathered over the left arm goes back to a favourite Hellenistic model. The figure is remarkable for its slimness and flatness from back to front, having obviously been composed for a niche.

(*g*) *Nude male statue:* restored with a head of Apollo of archaic type; the torso, with the locks on the shoulders, is of fourth century character, and is alone antique. Arndt in *E.A.* is wrong in saying that the locks on the shoulders are modern, as they are worked in one piece with the body. *E.A.* 2065.

(*h*) *Nude torso:* restored as an ephebe; the modern head has a dreamy expression. The torso, which is alone antique (with the right thigh and leg to below knee, and the left arm to elbow) is of fifth century type.[1] *E.A.* 2064.

(*i*) In centre of court a late Renaissance or modern imitation of a statue of the Hermes-Antinous type: the drapery is Berninesque. All the fingers are broken.

Two big iron pins are placed obliquely under the left breast, beneath the end of the short drapery hanging over the shoulder. Their purpose is uncertain; they cannot have supported a *balteus*, as this would have left a trace across the body. They were perhaps intended for the attachment of a further piece of drapery which has now disappeared. Near the base of the spine is another iron pin, which may have served to fasten the statue to a niche.

On the base of the pedestal: *ex hortis Chisianis* 1891.

(*k*) *Colossal male statue* (at the north end of the eastern portico, close to the stairs that led up to the British School).

Restored: Head, both arms, from the biceps on; upper part of tree trunk.

The figure stands on the right leg, the left arm is uplifted. Bernoulli rightly observes that the modern head is not, as was once supposed, a portrait of Claudius, but seems copied rather from a Republican type, similar to the so-called Scipio or priest of Isis.

[1] All the statues in the courtyard are over life size, but are so much restored that measurements are entirely out of the question. The weathering in some cases makes it difficult to control the restorations.

Matz-Duhn, 1036; Clarac, 940 D, 2382 B (= p. 580, 6 R); Bernoulli, *Roem. Icon.* ii. 1, 334.

(*l*) *Colossal male statue:* (under the southern portico in front of a shallow niche above the fountain of the Acqua Vergine).

The figure is nude and stands on the left leg; the right arm is uplifted. Probably an idealised Roman Imperial portrait. Bernoulli, without any knowledge of the original, tentatively suggested Hadrian, which is impossible. In Clarac, the statue

FIG. 12.—NUDE MALE STATUE IN PALAZZO ODESCALCHI.

is named Maximian, an attribution equally out of the question. According to Arndt and Amelung in *E.A.* (which see for restorations and criticism), it is more probably a statue of the first century (Fig. 12).

Bernoulli, ii. 2, 109; ii. 3, 199; *E.A.* 2058–60; Clarac, 940 D, 2525 A (= p. 580, 5 R).

(*m*) *Replica of the Aphrodite Valentini:* (in a niche on the stairs leading up to the apartments of Prince Odescalchi).

Great toe and next toe of left foot missing. For restorations see Arndt, who, in the text to *E.A.*, states that the Odescalchi statue seems identical with the statue in the Pamphili collection figured by Clarac, 981, 2519 C (605, 3 R)—lettered *e* in the text to Brunn-Bruckmann. There are no other cases known to me of the passage of statues from the one collection to the other.

Matz-Duhn, 605; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 654, n. 1 = *Masterpieces*, p. 400, note 2; Brunn-Bruckmann, text to Pl. 576, n. 6, No. *b*; Arndt-Amelung, *E.A.* 2061.

The following statues which Matz-Duhn saw in the Odescalchi collection before 1881 (when they were on the second landing of the stairs) have been removed elsewhere:

No. 166, nude male statue, called *Hermes* by Matz-Duhn, now Ny Carlsberg, No. 271 = Reinach, *Rép.* iv. 370, 4.

No. 180 (archaic Apollo with head unbroken) = *E. A.* 1986–90 (Rome, in the shop of one Marcocchia).

No. 1053, with modern head of the type of Caligula. No. 1054, a similar statue with chlamys, and No. 1000, with a head of Doryphoros type are all missing.

Besides these, there are still preserved in the palace, in one of the saloons on the first floor, two bases, with figures of provinces, from the Hadrianeum in Piazza di Pietra,[1] which were discovered under Pope Alexander VII., and presented by him to Cardinal Flavio Chigi. They were placed on the stairs, where they were still seen by Venuti (*cit. supra*, p. 74) unless he is once more guilty of inaccuracy; for they are omitted in the inventory of 1713. Three reliefs of trophies, found at the same time and also placed in the palace, have disappeared, and are not mentioned by any of our authorities except the unknown draughtsman of the *Cod. Barb.*, who expressly states that he saw them in this palace (which he of course calls Palazzo Chigi), and no doubt drew the two bases with figures of provinces here also.

The pictures were bought for the Duc d'Orléans and were placed in his famous gallery in the Palais Royal.[2] The Orléans Collection was

[1] *Cod. Barb.* xlviii. 101 (now *Barb. Lat.* 4333), f. 18, 22; P. S. Bartoli, *Mem.* 78, 115, *apud* Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. 247, 255; Lucas, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* xv. (1900) p. 8, E (not identified) F (so-called *Moesia*), p. 18, iii. p. 20, vii. p. 21, ix; Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3, 608.

[2] *Beschreibung Roms*, iii. 3, 178; a good account of the Orléans Collection is given by Waagen in his *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, II, p. 485 ff. Many of the Odescalchi pictures were engraved in the large and costly work *Galerie du Palais Royal* by Couché and others (1786–1806): the important work on the Orléans Collection by Casimir Stryenski.

sold in London in 1792. The history of its dispersion, with notes on the present whereabouts of the pictures, has, it seems, been made the subject of a recent sumptuous work by Casimir Stryenski. The collection is enumerated as follows in Deseine's *Rome Moderne* (1713), i. 216 :—

Quantité de Tableaux qui valent des trésors. On voit dans la grande Sale de grands Tableaux de Paisage du Sr. *Monaville* Flaman, & du *Crescentio* Romain ; & les Statues des Empereurs *Tite* & *Lucius Verus*. Dans le Sale d'audience, 8 histoires de *Paul Rubens* ; neuf Tableaux du *Corrége*, entr' autres la *Danaë* d'un gout merveilleux.[1] Dans une autre, douze Tableaux de *Paul* Véronois ; le Tableau de la Sainte Famille, de *Raphael d'Urbin*[2] ; un *Ganyméde* dessine par *Michael Ange Buonarota*, & peint par *Annibal Carracci* ; la Sybile de *Guide* &c. Dans une autre chambre, des Tableaux (longues) d'histoire, de *Jule* Romain ; deux Portraits du

La Galerie du Régent Philippe Duc d'Orléans (Paris, 1913) to which M. S. Reinach kindly draws my attention, is not at present accessible to me.

[1] Pinarolo adds that one of them represented Leda. See *Antonio Allegri da Correggio*, by Corrado Ricci (trans. Simmonds), London, 1896, p. 314. 'Both pictures, the Danaë and Leda, were at Stockholm in the middle of the seventeenth century. Mentioned in the inventory of Christina's collections, 1652, which is preserved in the Stockholm library. She carried the Danaë, Leda, and a *copy* of the Io to Rome, with many other pictures, and left them on her death to Cardinal Decio Azzolini. His nephew, Marchese Pompeo, sold them to Don Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano, from whose heirs they were bought by the Regent d'Orléans.

'The narrow bigotry of his son Louis condemned them as obscene ; his uneasy scruples were fostered by his confessor, the Abbé of S. Geneviève, who persuaded him to destroy them. A knife was driven through that flesh to which a supreme act had given the very semblance of life, and the fair heads of Leda and Io were severed from their bodies.' Charles Coypel, keeper of the gallery, saved the fragments. At the sale of Coypel's collections in 1752 they were bought by Pasquier. On his death shortly afterwards, they were acquired for Frederick the Great by the Comte D'Epinailles. In 1806 they were carried off to Paris by Napoleon, but were restored eight years later, and in 1830 were placed in the Berlin gallery, where they still remain. The head of Io was repainted by Prudhon ; that of Leda by Schlesinger.

'The Danaë, which had escaped the ferocious prudery of Louis of Orleans, passed to London with the rest of the family collection, and was then sold to the Duke of Bridgewater. In 1816 it was bought by Henry Hope for £183. In 1823 it returned to Paris, where it was finally sold to the Princess Borghese. The Princess took it to Rome, and placed it in her famous gallery, of which it now forms one of the chief ornaments.' The Danaë is the only one of Correggio's mythological pictures remaining in Italy.

[2] Evidently the 'Madonna del Passeggio,' now Bridgewater House, No. 37 (Stryenski, *Cat.* No. 125). It is worth mentioning here that the predella of the 'Colonna altar-piece,' now in the Metropolitan Museum, N.Y., was sold in 1663 to Christina of Sweden by the nuns of Sant' Antonio in Perugia. The predella came into the possession of Cardinal Azzolini at her death ; then passed to Don Livio Odescalchi ; then to the Regent d'Orléans. It consisted of five panels : (1) 'Christ on the Mount of Olives,' now in the possession of Lady Burdett-Coutts. (2) 'Christ bearing the Cross,' Lord Windsor. (3) 'The lamentation over Christ,' Mrs. Gardner, Fenway Court, Boston ; (4 and 5) 'S. Francis of Assisi and S. Anthony of Padua,' Dulwich College. (For these notices see 'Raffael' in *Klassiker der Kunst* series, p. 223 ; Stryenski, *Cat.* Nos. 131, 132, 130, 128–129.)

vieux *Bassan*, de lui & de sa femme; les Portraits des Empereurs *Vitellius* & *Titus*, peints par le *Titien*; *Cupidon* du *Parmesan*; la *Venus*, du *Caracci*; *Saint Pierre* crucifié du *Calabrois*; divers portraits du *Tintoret*; un grand Tableau de la resurrection de *Lazare*, du Titien; l'Histoire de *Milon*, du *Bordonone*; quelques Tableaux de *Michel Ange de Caravaggio*; & dans le Cabinet du Prince, deux Cabinets de Medailles antiques, rares, & bien conservées, de tous métaux, d'un grand prix, avec des Camayeux & pierres gravées excellentes.

In 1723 Baldassare Odescalchi, son of Antonio Maria Erba, the ruling marquis, nephew of the sister of Innocent XI., heir of Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Sirmio, Bracciano and Ceri, erected the chapel of S. Antonio di Padova in SS. Apostoli and in front of it formed the family tomb, as an inscription in the pavement records.[1] It was not, however, until 1745 that he purchased the palace from Agostino Chigi for 90,000 scudi (Appendix V.).

It is described in the contract of sale as consisting of a ground floor and two upper floors, with cellars, kitchens, attics, a garden on the end of the first floor, stables in the courtyard with storage for corn above them, various fountains in the court, garden and kitchens, a staircase in the corner beyond the garden on the way to the Vicolo di S. Marcello. It had two stables, one under the first floor beyond the arch over the Vicolo del Piombo on the upper side, and at the back, on the side of the Vicolo di S. Marcello, another stable with two doors and a mezzanine floor above it, bounded on the side of the arch by the Palazzo Altemps and the church of the Madonna di Loreto, on the side of the Vicolo del Piombo by the Palazzo di Nivers, then belonging to the French Academy, and on the side of the Vicolo di S. Marcello by another palace facing the church of S. Maria in Via Lata in the Corso, which served as the residence of the servants, and which contained two floors, with shops and a mezzanine floor below. This building may be clearly seen in Falda's bird's-eye view (Fig. 8). There were also two small houses in the block, one on the side of the Corso, opposite the Palazzo Pamfili, containing two floors, with a shop below, a courtyard with a fountain, a kitchen over the fountain, and a cellar.

He at once entrusted to Nicola Salvi the duty of enlarging the palace by suppressing the garden and lengthening the façade. Milizia[2] criticises it unmercifully as being too low for its length. He objects also (*a*) that

[1] Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. ii. p. 274, No. 841.

[2] *Memorie degli Architetti* (Parma, 1781), iii. 221; (Bologna, 1827), ii. 267.

the composite pilasters should not embrace two floors, (*b*) that the small order of the windows of the first floor does not go well with these large pilasters, (*c*) that the alternately curved and triangular pediments are objectionable, (*d*) that the form and decorations of the upper windows are bad, and those of the cornice even worse, with single brackets over the windows, and double over the pilasters, (*e*) that the balustrade does not agree with the wings, (*f*) that the internal arcades of the portico are too low.

An idea of the appearance of the palace and the piazza at the end

FIG. 13.—THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

of the eighteenth century may be obtained from Pl. 84 of Vasi's *Magnificenze di Roma* (Fig. 13). Piranesi (*Vedute di Roma*, No. 727 of his complete works) also has a very fine view of it, while a smaller view by him will be found in Venuti's *Roma Moderna*, vol. i. (opposite p. 294). Since that time it has undergone practically no changes, as will be clear from Figs. 14–16. In the last view we may notice that the fountain shown in Fig. 7 still exists on the west side of the courtyard, though now much overgrown by large-leafed water plants. The photographs give an idea of the quiet dignity of the building, in the summer sunlight of early

July. The deep cool shadows formed a delicious contrast to the glare without, and one realised that Renaissance Rome (and I imagine Classical Rome as well) was built for and by people who lived in the summer and existed in the winter, such stress did they lay on coolness in the hot months, without sufficiently providing for warmth in the cold season.

So it was at the best season that we left the first residence of the School, when the mellow colour of the travertine showed at its best against the brilliant blue of the summer sky. Most of the students had gone before, some seeking refuge from the heat, more called by military duties

FIG. 14.—FAÇADE OF THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI.

which were soon to absorb the rest, as the claims upon us became more and more imperious. But the Palazzo Odescalchi never seemed more beautiful, more reposeful, more stately, than at the moment when the School left it ; and though our new home in Valle Giulia promises to be far cooler and fresher, with its lovely view and surroundings, the splendid pine trees of the Villa Borghese and the Villa Balestra, the fresh green of the gardens and vineyards and the as yet unordered grassy spaces of the park in which it stands—and, still more, gives us the hope of being able to develop into something more worthy of our country,

with more space and resources at our command—it was impossible not to feel a real and deep regret at leaving the historic building with which, in however indirect a way, we had been connected for some fourteen years.

A few remarks on the ancestors of the present owners of the palace may not be without interest. The Odescalchi[1] were a family of

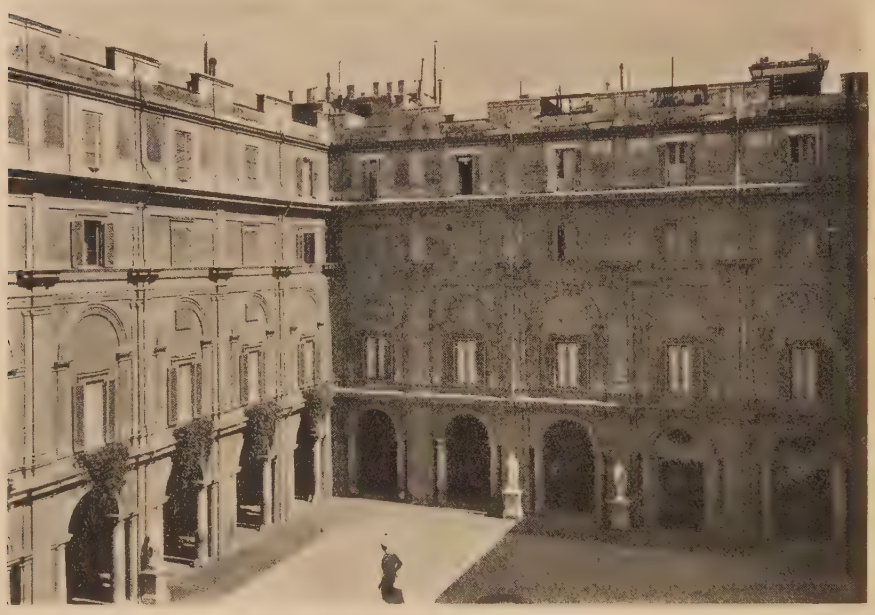


FIG. 15.—COURTYARD OF THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI FROM THE ROOMS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL.

bankers in Como, who settled in Rome in the Campo di Fiore, at the beginning of the Via del Pellegrino, early in the sixteenth century.[2]

[1] The following is the earliest record of them known to me. At the beginning of the right aisle of the church of S. Sabina, in the pavement, is the tomb slab of Girolamo Odescalchi, merchant of Como, who died in 1518, at the age of 32, erected by his brother Giovanni Antonio. (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. vii. p. 302, No. 607). *Hieronymo Odescalco Cumensi* (sic) *integerr(imae) fidei mercatori in ipso aetat(is) flore praerepto Io(annes) Antonius moestiss(imus) bene merent(i) fratri posuit MDXVIII cal(endis) Aug(ustis) vixit ann(os) xxxii.* Cf. Bojani, cited *supra*, p. 69, n. 1..

[2] In 1549 we find the brothers Bernardo and Battista Odescalchi, still called merchants of Como, paying to the road board (maestri delle strade) their contribution *occasione novi vici nuper erecti et aperti et incepti in Campo Florae, qui tendit a dicto campo Florae versus plateam Agonis.* (Notaro Pellegrini in *Archivio di Stato*, prot. 1451, c. 8). The Via dei Baullari, which occupies this position, had already been begun in the time of Clement VII..

Among the payments recorded[1] in connection with the construction of the Loggia delle Cosmografie of Pius IV. in the Vatican, on the west side of the Cortile di S. Damaso, is one of February 3rd, 1564, for curtains to the loggia, to the heirs of Battista Odescalchi, no doubt one of the brothers just mentioned.

FIG. 16.—COURTYARD OF THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI LOOKING TOWARDS THE ROOMS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL (ON THE SECOND FLOOR).

The accounts of Pius IV. also show that the heirs of Battista Odescalchi and their firm had undertaken the administration of the funds for the provision of building materials for the conversion of a part of the

though it is a little difficult to see what other street than this could be meant (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 10, 233).

[1] The document, preserved at the Archivio di Stato, is an account book kept by Piero Giovanni Aleotto, bishop of Forlì, the Pope's maestro di Camera. It is cited by Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 214. 'Agli heredi di M. Battista Odescalchi scudi 42 b(aiocchi) 30 p(er) pagamento di canne 142 di tela bottane (?) . . . p(er) farne le cortine inanzi le cosmografie della loggia suprema del Pal(a)zzo Apos(toli)co.'

baths of Diocletian into the church of S. Maria degli Angeli and the Cistercian monastery attached to it.[1]

Franzini (*Palatia Procerum Romanae Urbis*, 1596, A. 13) has a view of the *Palatium D(omi)nor(um) Lodescalcum* (*sic*) no doubt the building then situated in the Campo di Fiore,[2] though there is no building of the kind to be seen there now the houses being of more recent date.

The statue figured by De Cavalleriis may, of course, very easily have passed out of the possession of the family before they came to their present palace.

In 1645 Benedetto Odescalchi, who was born in 1611 at Como, and was thus a member of another branch of the family, was created Cardinal by Innocent X. His palace was situated near S. Caterina dei Funari.[3] In 1676 he became Pope. His nephew, Don Livio, was made a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and after the Pope's death in 1689, was granted the title of Duke of Sirmio. The Pope, too, attached the title of Duke to the fief of Ceri, which Don Livio had bought. For the subsequent history of the family, cf. *supra*, pp. 68 *sqq*.

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

No. I.—Extract from the Deed of Sale of Zagarolo, Colonna, Gallicano, and Passerano, by Pierfrancesco Colonna to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi.

28 September, 1622. (*Arch. Colonna*, xxviii. 31).

The passage quoted sets out the necessity of selling the estates above referred to, together with the palace in Rome, to pay the creditors.

[1] Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 230. For notices of other members of the family see *id.* iv. 24; Forcella, *op. cit.*, vol. vii. p. 303, No. 611; vol. iv. p. 252, No. 645.

[2] The *statua ignoti Principis in aedibus Odescalchi* (De Cavalleriis, iii. iv. Pl. 99. Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 571, 7) is no longer in the family collection. It may be the third described on p. 331 of vol. iii. of the *Documenti Inediti* (Inv. 1713) as *altra statua alta pal.* 10 *di passetto, nuda di petto e gambe, con un panno avvoltato di dietro, colle due braccia e testa moderna di Augusto, e il restante antico di maniera ordinaria*, though the statue described in the inventory is more likely to be Clarac, 916A, 2336A (563, R), which is now in Madrid (Hübner, No. 75).

[3] *Descr. de la ville de Rome* (1690), p. 351 (par F. D. P.) = Deseine, *Rome Moderne*, (1713), p. 499. Le petit Palais isolé proche cette Église (S. Caterina dei Funari) sert d'habitation à *Don Livio Odescalchi*, Duc de *Cerri & de Bracciano*, & Neveu du Pape *Innocent XI.*, qui y demeura plus de vingt-cinq ans, du tems qu'il étoit Cardinal (1645–76).

P. 3. Cui praeiudicio [1] cum reparari nequeat nisi mediante aliquorum ex dictis bonis alienatione, residuo remanente pro dictis fid(eicommis)sis et primogenituris ut infra, ex quo facta excussione compertum sit non adesse tot bona ex quibus dicti creditores satisfieri possint, ultra dictis vinculis, primogenituris et fid(eicommis)sis supposita, vid(elice)t castrum Zagarolae, La Colonna, Gallicano, Passarano et il Palazzo di Roma.

No. II.—Extract from the Pope's permission for the sale referred to in No. I. 27 Settembre 1622. (*Arch. Colonna*, ix. 5).

Pietro Fran(cesc)o Colonna Duca di Zagarolo ci ha esposto . . .

Et se bene p(er) sodisfattione di detti debiti esso Duca ha uenduto il Palazzo posto nella Piazza delli santi Apostoli al R^mo^ Ludouico Cardinal Ludouisio Nostro Nepote, con tutto ciò il prezzo di esso con altri effetti empiegati in questa sodisfattione non è bastato a gran lunga per pagare i Creditori; et essendosi esso risoluto di uoler dare sodisfattione alli suoi Creditori, et uscire una volta di tanti fastidii et molestie et interusurij et spese . . . si è risoluto con il conseglio de suoi Periti uendere detto stato (Zagarolo) tutto unito.

No. III.—Deed of Sale of the Palace by Stefano Colonna to Cardinal Flavio Chigi.

From the *Archivio Chigi*, volume marked Em. Sig. Card. Flavio Chigi Libro de Istromenti P°. (I only quote extracts).

F. 198. Venditio Palatii pro Em(inentissi)mo D(omino) Card(ina)le Flauio Chisio.

Die vigesima nona Decembris 1662 (an obvious error for 1661) a Natiut^e^ Pontif. Alexandri 7^mi^ anno Septimo (Notaio Paluzzi A. C.)

Cum Clar(ae) mem(oriae) Don Pompeius Columna Princeps Gallicani in testamento p(er) ipsum condito clauso, et sigillato, et in actis meis consignato sub die 3 mensis Januarii proximi secuti, et stante eius obitu sub die 6 eiusdem aperto, et publicato, Jure Legati, et alias omni alio meliori modo reliquerit Emin(entissi)mo et R(everendissi)mo D(omino) Flavio Tituli S(anct)ae Mariae de Populo S(anct)ae Romanae Ecclesiae Presbytero Cardinali Chisio nuncupato S(anctissi)mi D(omini) N(ostri) Papae secundum carnem ex fratre germano nepoti usum fructuum totius Palatii eiusdem cl(arae) me(moriae) Principis Don Pompei positi Romae in Platea, et e conspectu Basilicae S(anc)tor(um) duodecim Apostolorum, vita ipsius Em(inentissi)mi Cardinalis durante, cum onere semper retinendi unum Appartamentum eiusdem Palatii pro Ill(ustrissi)mo et R(everendiss)imo Dño Jacobo Ninio eiusdem S(anctissi)mi D(omini) N(ostri) Papae Cubicul(ario) Pr(iv)ato in quocumque futuro statu d(ict)i Ill(ustrissi)mi et R(everendissi)mi D(omini) Nini; Heredem uero suum universalem instituerit Ill(ustrissi)mum et Exc(ellentissi)mum D(ominum) Don Stephanum

[1] *I.e.* to the finances of the family.

Columnam Ducem Bassanelli Ill(ustrissi)mi et Exc(ellentissi)mi D(omini) Don Julii Cesaris Columnae Carbognani principis filium, dictusque Emin(entissi)mus D(ominus) Cardinalis ususfructus d(ict)i Palatii ad formam d(ict)i Legati, et Exc(ellentissi)mus D(ominus) Dux Don Stephanus Proprietatis eiusdem Palatii, necnon aliorum bonorum hereditariorum d(ict)i cl. me. Principis Don Pompei p(er) eadem acta mei supra-scripti) possessionis respective adepti fuerint, Idemque Emin(entissi)mus D(ominus) Cardinalis cupiens iusto titulo praefatum Palatium etiam quoad proprietatem, ac in perpetuum, una cum Domo retro dictum Palatium in Via Cursus ingressum habente pariter hereditaria d(ic)ti cl. me. Principis Don Pompei pro Emin(enti)a sua, suisque heredibus acquirere, requisivit eundem Ill(ustrissi)mum et R(everendissi)mum D(ominum) Ducem, mediante Emin(entissi)mo et R(everendissi)mo Domino Sfortia Titoli S^{ti} Salvatoris in Lauro S^{te} Romanae Ecclesiae Presbytero Cardinali Pallavicino, ad sibi Proprietatem d(ic)ti Palatii ac praedictam Domum respective vendendas pro iusto pretio ; Unde suprad(ictu)s Exc(ellentissi)mus D(ominus) Dux atque etiam d(ictu)s Ex(cellentissi)mus D(ominus) Princeps eius Pater occurrentes desideriis (f. 198) eiusdem Emin(entissi)mi D(omini) Cardinalis Chisii, atque considerantes eumdem Emin(entissi)mum D(ominum) Cardinalem Chisium usufructuarium d(ict)i Palatii annum agere trigesimum primum, ac, Deo optimo maximo concedente, iuxta eorum, et commune omnium desiderium longevum fore sperantes, se promptos exhibuerint Palatium quoad proprietatem, et Domum praefatae Emin(entia)e suae pro pretio a d. Emin(entissi)mo Domino Cardinale Pallavicino declarando vendere, et alienare, et respective eidem uenditioni ut infra consentire, Idemque Emin(entissi)-mus Dominus Cardinalis Pallavicinus maturae considerationis [*sic*] omnibus his, quae in praemissis consideranda sunt, atque sumpta necessaria informatione tam valoris dicti Palatii, et Domus, quam usus fructus d. Emin(entissi)mo D(omino) Cardinali Chisio ut supra legati, aliorumque uerum d. Palatio, et Domui incumben-tium, ac ulterius fructus quos ds. Exc(ellentissi)mus D(ominus) Dux annuatim percipere poterit ex infra dicendo pretio de presenti sibi solvendo, aliisque omnibus desuper necessariis proponerit verum et iustum pretium di. Palatii quoad proprietatem, ac d^{e} Domus esse scutorum viginti quinque millium m(one)tae Romanae huiusmodique propositione uti iusta, et eaque [*sic*] tam a d(omin)o Em(inentissi)mo Domino Cardinali Chisio, quam a dd^{is} Ex(cellentissi)mis DD. Principe, et Duce acceptata, et approbata, modo intendant supra d^{ta} venditione ad Instrumenti celebrationem devenire etc.

F. 199. *Quotation from the Papal warrant, dated 21 Dec. 1661, authorising the sale.*

La proprietà del Palazzo hereditario del detto Principe de Gallicano posto nella Piazza di S(an)ti Apostoli, et una Casa contigua al d(ett)o Pallazzo che corris-ponde al Corso appresso i beni del R(everendissi)mo Card(ina)l Mancini et altri suoi noti confini.

F. 200. *Consent by the Camera Apostolica* (23 *Dec.* 1661).

Ipsum Palatium, quod pro confinibus habet ab uno latere uersus Monasterium seu Conventum R(everendorum) Patrum S^{ti} Marcelli, viam publicam, et bona D(ominorum) de Mandosiis, ab alio aliam viam, sive vicum, retro praefatam Domum ut infra vendendam, et Domos Emin^{mi} et R^{mi} D. Cardinalis et aliorum de Mancinis, necnon Domum praefatam retro dictum Palatium in Via Cursus ingressum habentem

iuxta bona versus plateam S^ti Marci Collegiatae Ecclesiae S^tae Mariae in Via Lata et versus Plataeam S Marcelli bona Ill(ustrissi)mi R(everendissi)mi D(omini) Abbatis Dominici (f. 200^v) Saluetti, S(anctissi)mi D. N. Papae Notarum Arcanarum Secretarij. Quae domus est (ut asseritur) gravata annuo censu Scutorum decem m(one)t(a)e ad fauorem R(everendissimorum) Patrum S^tae Mariae Araceli pro celebratione Missarum vigore testamenti Conditi p(er) q(uonda)m Franciscam Gazzam de Quintiis et Instrumenti eiusdem census ex pecuniis hereditariis eiusdem acquito [*sic*], et p(er) q(uonda)m Martium, et Sebastianum de Jordanis olim Dominos d(ict)e Domus super ea impositi et Instrumento rogato sub die 17 Septembris 1579 scrip(to) (?) p(er) acta q(uonda)m Jo(annis) Dominici Peracca Curiae Capitolii Notarii, ac etiam gravata annuo Canone scutorum duodecim m(one)t(a)e ad favorem d(ictorum) R(everendissimorum) Patrum S^ti Marcelli, quorum Consensus quatenus opus sit et non alias de quo supra reservatus sit et esse censeatur, quatenus tamen d(ictus) canon super d^a Domo existat d.q. (?) Emin(entissimus) D(ominus) Cardinalis Emptor ad id legitime teneatur, et non alias s(icut) de quo supra salvis aliis tam d(ict)i Palatii, quam Domus pluribus, et verioribus confinibus si qui sint quandocumque exprimentur, et specificant [*sic*] et presenti Instrumento per me Notarium quandocumque addendis una cum omnibus et singulis statuis, et Picturis immobilibus, affixis, seu infixis tam in Nicchiis, et Scalis, quam in alio quovis loco eorumdem Palatii, et Domus si que sunt etiam amovibilibus, nec non cum omnibus et singulis impannatis, et vitriatis, ac tota, et integra quantitate aquarum, in eisdem Palatio, et Domo, ac illorum Cortilibus, et alibi ad praesens fluentibus, fontibus, vasibus aquarum, et d(ictarum) aquarum juribus, cursibus, et derivationibus, prout ab eo d(icta)e aqu(a)e prouidentur, et sibi competunt, vel competere possunt, nec non omnibus, et singulis et quibuscumque bonis infixis, quae d(ict)us Exc^mus d(ictus) Dux nominibus quibus supra intus d(ictum) Palatium, et Domum pariter habet et ad eum quomodocumque spectant et pertinent infer confinia praefata etc.

No. IV.—Will of Pompeo Colonna.[1]

Testamentum Bon(ae) Me(moriae) Ex(cellentissi)mi
P(ri)n(ci)pis D. Pompei Columnae
Die 6 Jan(ua)rii 1661
D. Thomas Palutius A(postolicae) C(amerae) N(otarius)
Aperitio Testamenti Cl(arae) Me(moriae) P(ri)ncipis D. Pompei Columnae
Die Sexta Januarii 1661, hora sexta noctis
Actum Rome in Palatio hereditario d(ict)i Exc(ellentissi)mi D(omini) P(ri)n(ci)pis Gallicani posito in Platea Basilicae S(anct)or(um) Duodecim Apostolorum.

Pompeo Colonna figlio del Duca Pier Francesco Colonna.

Il mio corpo fatto cadavere voglio sia sepellito nella Chiesa di Santi Apostoli con gli altri miei Antecessori . . .

[1] *Arch. Capitolino*, vol. 60 (xlv.) Testamenta, etc. 1643–1671. Floridus et Palutius A(postolicae) C(amerae) Notarii.

Alla Santità di N(ostro) Sig(no)re lascio un Crocifisso, che tiene un mondo per Orologgio, e questo non come Papa, ma come a Fabio Chigi, perchè resti nella casa Chigi. Item all' Em(inentissi)mo Sig(nor) Card(ina)le Chigi l'usufrutto di tutto il Palazzo in uita sua con peso di tenergli sempre un appartamento per Monsig(no)re Giacomo Nini in qualunque stato si ritrouarà, al quale anche lascio una trabbacchia di tela d'oro bianche, che è il finimento che era della camera scura.

Item al Sig(nor) Card(inale) Pallauicino lascio li libri tanto stampati, come manuscritti sua vita durante douendosi poi restituirli all' Herede.

In tutti l'altri beni . . . casali, feudi ecc. istituisco faccio, voglio che sia, . . . nomino e scrivo mio Herede Universale Il sig. Don Stefano Colonna Duca di Bassano. In Roma li 3 Gennaro 1661.

Codicilli Copia.

Die quinta Januarii 1661.

Codicillando Jure legati, et alias o(mn)i mel(io)ri modo reliquit D(omino) Francisco Portio de Gagliano in Aprutio, uita tantum eiusdem D(omini) Fran(cis)ci durante et non ultra Domum nuncupatam il Casino contiguam et retro Palatium d(ict)i Ex(cellentissi)mi D(omini) Principis respondente in Via Cursus Juxta suos fines ubi ad presens Idem D. Fran(cis)cus Inhabitat, ipsoq(ue) D(omino) Fran(cis)co defuncto eadem Domus ad heredem revertatur.

No. V.—Sale of the Palace to Baldassare Odescalchi.

(Archivio Chigi, Libro degli Istromenti 1744–6, No. 13; Francesco Martorelli Notario), F. 68^{v}, repeated, F. 85.

Si asserisce p(er) verita che la ch(iara) me(moria) dell Em(inentissim)o et R(everendissi)mo Sig(no)r(e) Card(inale) Flavio Chigi col suo testamento aperto negli atti del Franceschini, oggi di me Martorelli li 13 7^{bre} 1693 . . . ouero sottoponesse l'intiera sua Eredità, e Beni Ereditarij, quelli unitamente ch'esistono in Roma, et in t(u)tto lo Stato Ecclesiastico, eccettuando li beni esistenti nel dominio d(e)l Ser(enissi)mo Granduca di Toscana, alla Primogenitura del Ecc(ellentissi)ma Casa Chigi . . . p(er) Donaz(ion)e irrevocabile inter vivos rogato negl' atti di me mede(si)mo Martorelli allora il Palazzi Not(arius) A(postolicae) C(amerae) li 19 Giugno 1662, et successivam(en)te approvata, e confermata dalla S(anta) M(emoria) di Aless(andr)o PP. vii. con suo Breve speciale Spedito li 20 Sett(emb)re d(e)llo stesso anno 1662. F. 69 . . . e tra gli effetti lasciati dal d(ett)o Em(inentissi)mo Sig(no)re Card(ina)le il Palazzo grande situato à Piazza et incontro la V(enerabile) Chiesa de SS. Apostoli, che costa di trè appartamenti Terreno, e due Nobili, Cantine, Cucine, sottotetti abitabili, giardino al paro d(e)l p(ri)mo appartamento nobile, rimesse nel Cortile con commodo p(er) la biada sopra le med(esim)e, diversi Commodi d'acqua nel Cortile, Giardino e cucine come meglio in appresso si specificarà et altri commodi sotterranei e scalla nel Cantone passato il Giardino p(er) andare al Vicolo di S. Marcello, e dalla parte di sopra un Rimessone grande sotto l'appartamento nobile passato l'arco, e dietro dalla parte d(e)l Vicolo, che tende a S. Romualdo, altra Rimessa con due Porte con mezzanini sopra, confinante dalla parte dell 'Arco col Palazzo del Sig(no)re

Duca Altemps, e Chiesa della Madonna di Loreto, oue presentemente abito l'Em(inentissim)o Sig(no)re Card(ina)l(e) Delei, dalla parte del Vicolo del Piombo col Palazzo detto di Niuers oggi spettante all' Accademia di Francia, dalla parte del Cortile con detta Accademia, il Giardino di d(ett)o Palazzo, auanti la Piazza pub(blic)a di SS. Apostoli, che fa confine, e uolta al uicolo di S. Marcello, dove ha p(er) confine l'altro Palazzo detto della famiglia, che si dice in appresso, qual palazzo grande è stato dall anno 1694 fino al p(rese)nte ritenuto in locazione dall' Ill(ustrissi)mo et Exc(ellentissi)mo Sig(no)re Duca di Bracciano p(er) annua piggione di sc(udi) 1600 compresso l'altro infr(ascritt)o Palazzo detto d(e)lla Famiglia, et Casetta.

Altro Palazzo detto della Famiglia contiguo al sopradescritto, che confina dalla parte del Vicolo (F. 69) di S. Marcello colla Stalla del d(etto) Palazzo grande, e corrisponde al corso incontro la v(enerabile) Chiesa di S. M(ari)a in via Lata e confina dall' altra parte nel Corso colla Co(mpagni)a della V(enerabile) Archiconfraternità di S. Caterina di Siena, e di dietro col Giardino del d(ett)o Palazzo, e questo secondo Palazzo della Famiglia contiene due Appartamenti, e Botteghe sotto con Mezzanini compreso parimente in d(ett)a locazione. Altra Casetta al Corso incontro il Palazzo Panfili, che contiene due Appartamenti, Bottega sotto Cortile con Fontana, Cucinetta sopra d(ett)a Fontana, e Cantina confinante da una Parte colli Beni del Capitolo di S. Maria in Via Lata, dall' altra parte col d(ett)o Palazzo dell' Accademia di Francia salvi altri compresa similm(en)te nella sud(dett)a locazione. Et essendo ancora, che la Ch(iara) Me(moria) del Sig(nor) Duca D(on) Livio Odescalco nel suo Testamento aperto al di 8 Sett^{re}. 1713, p(er) gli atti allora del Caioli oggi del De Sanctis Not(ari)o Cap(itoli)no ordinasse all' Ill(ustrissi)mo et Ecc(ellentissi)mo Sig(nor) Duca D(on) Baldassarre Odescalco suo Erede istituito di douer mantenere in Roma la Casa aperta, continuando a ritenere il sud(detto) Palazzo spettante all' Eccma Casa Chigi, doue lo stesso Ecc(ellentissi)mo Sig(nor) Duca D. Livio abitava, come si è detto sin dall' anno 1694, e uolendolo comprare lo permettesse di prendere dei Capitali dalla sua Eredità, a riserua de Feudi e Ville, o Corpi di decoro e Delizie come più diffusamente leggesi nel d(ett)o Testam(en)to come so(pra) aperto al quale——. Avendo dunque il pre(dett)o Ecc(ellentissi)mo Sig(nor) Duca D(on) Baldassarre Odescalco con la longa abitazione del sud(detto) Palaz(zo) formato il pensiero di venire all' effettiua Compra di quello co' suoi sudd(etti) annessi nella forma, che lo ha goduto, e gode presentam(en)te a tenore della locaz(ion)e, abbia pertanto fattone fare la richiesta all' Ill(ustrissi)mo et Ecc(ellentissi)mo Sig(no)re P(ri)n(ci)pe D(on) Agostino Chigi odierno Possessore della d(ett)a Primogenitura della sua Eccma Casa, con il quale è stata effettivam(en)te stabilita la compra e vendita del d(ett)o Palazzo, p(er) il presso, e condizione infra ciòe, che la uendita del d(ett)o Palazzo, e sudd(etto) annessi debba seguire p(er) il prezzo conuenuto di scudi nouantamila.

F. 70. (The price was to be paid in two instalments of 45,000 scudi each, and for five years the Duke was to pay to Prince Chigi the usual rent of 1,600 scudi, the repairs being undertaken by the latter.)

F. 106. Copia[1] della verifica fatta da Gio(vanni) P(iet)ro Minelli Arch(itetto)

[1] There is another copy of this document in the Archivio Odescalchi (xxxv. A. 1).

del Chigi, Egidio Malescotti Arch(itetto) dell' Odescalchi delle otto oncie di acqua felice—fa mostra a num° sei fontane cioè due sopra la loggia, et una nella Ringhiera del appartamento, e no. tre nel giardino—e dell' oncia di Acqua Verginie ed a tal' effetto si è alzato il Bottino incontro l'Accademia di Francia nella strada del Corso e preciso nel cantone del vicolo del Piombo, e fù trovata la fistola di metallo della capacità di una oncia, messa al condotto cam(era)le d(ett)o del Bufalo, che tende verso S. Marco, dett' acqua è condottata con condotti di Piombo e posta nel terrapieno, e uà à sgorgare nella casetta di Piombo murata nel muro della (F. 107a) nominata cucina, et iui si diuide e fà mostra a due Fontane.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL. VIII. NO. 4.

FORGOTTEN FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT WALL-PAINTINGS IN ROME.

(PLATES III.–IX.)

BY MRS. ARTHUR STRONG, D.LITT., LL.D.

II.—THE HOUSE IN THE VIA DE' CERCHI.

THIS second series of the neglected wall-paintings of ancient Rome follows on that published in the last number of these Papers (vol. vii. 1914, p. 121 ff.). As before, the coloured plates are from water-colour drawings by Mr. F. G. Newton executed in the summer of 1913. The paintings, now reproduced on Plates III.–IX., adorn certain rooms in a private house in the Via de' Cerchi, the back of which is built against the southern slope of the Palatine, while the front abuts almost on the structures of the north-east end of the Circus Maximus; its vestibule, indeed, must have touched the northern line of the road that ran between the outer walls of the Circus and the hill, coinciding practically with the modern street.[1]

An absence from Rome of unexpected duration has prevented me from bestowing detailed study upon this group of paintings; I must, therefore, rely partly on old notes and partly on the descriptions of the

[1] This house has been identified, but without reason, with the *Domus Gelotiana* of Caligula.

paintings of one of the rooms already given by Signor Marchetti, who published them with small and somewhat inadequate photographic blocks in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1892, p. 44 ff., and by Professor Huelsen, who reproduced them in outline in *Roem. Mitth.*, 1893, p. 289 ff. In the first paper (*P.B.S.R.* vii., p. 114) I was able, through the collaboration first of Mr. F. G. Newton and afterwards of Mr. H. C. Bradshaw, student of our new Architectural Faculty, to give, where necessary, plans of the buildings where the paintings are to be found. This time, much though I should have liked to include a new plan of this interesting house, it proved impossible, since the war and the exigencies of military service left our Architectural Faculty almost without students. But there are other difficulties, for the house, one of the most important in Rome, belonging as it does to the Palatine group, has of late been closed and made inaccessible, so that a fresh examination of its remains is at present impossible. When I wrote to colleagues at the American Academy, who, I knew, would generously give me any information available, the answer was that they 'found the house and part of the street blocked up and apparently filled with earth.'[1] This state of affairs makes it the more imperative to publish paintings which had already deteriorated appreciably in the twenty-four years between the date of Signor Marchetti's photographs and that of Mr. Newton's drawings. The archaeological authorities of Rome, overwhelmed by the wealth of material at their command, have long neglected this house, though it so well deserves to be definitely acquired for the Palatine and made into national property. [The above was written in March of this year. Since my return to Rome, I find that the house has been acquired by the Government and the farm buildings have been cleared out; but it remains closed. Miss van Deman, meanwhile, having also returned to Rome, has kindly put together, for an Appendix to this paper, the notes which she took on the brickwork of this house in 1913, reserving for a future article a more detailed discussion which will be accompanied by a new plan of the house and of the adjacent locality. I have also been able to trace by the kind help of Mr. van Buren the photographs of the frescoes in one of the rooms of the house (room C) referred to by Marchetti and Huelsen

[1] It should be noted that this had happened once before. Huelsen in 1893 complains that the house, cleared five years previously (in the presence of the German Emperor), had been again filled up with earth or rubbish 'for the sake of better preservation.'

as having been taken in 1888 and since reported missing. The negatives had been mislaid in the *deposito* of Signor Felice, photographer to the Pontifical Galleries, by whose kind permission three of the photographs are reproduced in Fig. 3 and on Plates VIII. and IX. They make clear many details which have since become obliterated and thus form a useful supplement to Mr. Newton's drawings.]

Fig. 1 reproduces the plan given by Marchetti, which makes clear the distribution of the rooms. The house seems to have been built round

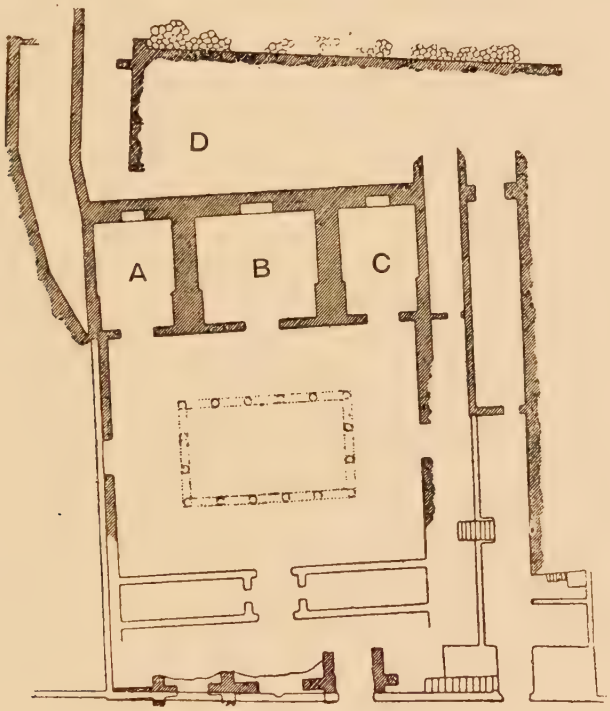


FIG. 1.

an *atrium*—perhaps with colonnade in centre—to the north of which open three rooms, A, B, C, much as in the so-called House of Livia on the Palatine. A staircase, now lost, probably led to a higher story on a level with the Palatine, so that at one time it was thought that the present house might belong to the building immediately above and behind it, known as the Paedagogium; this, however, was set further back and

formed a separate building, the orientation of which, moreover, differed slightly from that of the house under consideration.[1] The paintings on Plates III., IV. and VIII., IX. are in Room C, and, as stated above, have been published and described by Huelsen and Marchetti. The second series on Plates V.–VII. in a corridor (D) behind A, B, C are quite unknown and were discovered by Mr. Newton.

Room C, which I shall describe first, must, from the subject of its wall-paintings—a number of slaves preparing to wait at table—have been the triclinium or dining-room. Its maximum breadth is 6·15 m., narrowing at the entrance, where the walls each have a projection of 0·28 m., to 5·85 m.[2] The length of the room is 8·15 m. Its present height is 11·50 m., but at a height of 5·65 m. from the ground there are traces of brackets of travertine which evidently supported the floor of an upper room. The brickwork is excellent. Marchetti pronounced the whole house to be of the period of Septimius Severus, which is also the view of Miss van Deman, while C. Visconti and Huelsen attributed it to that of the Antonines. The style of the painting carries on the traditions, as we shall see, of the first century, so that if the brickwork can, as it seems, be proved to belong to the second, or, as others think, to as late as the third century, a revision of our present system of dating wall-paintings will become essential, since the styles must have lasted, with few variations, much longer than had been supposed.

The paintings on the wall of the lower chamber are fairly well preserved on the left long side (Plate III., compare Figs. 2, 3 and Plate VIII.), less well on the right (Plate IV., compare Plate IX.). On the narrow end-wall nothing remains. The colours are laid on a fine plastering about ·02 m. thick, which, owing to its too great smoothness of surface at the back, became detached in large flakes, thus accounting, according to Marchetti, for the loss of much of the painting. The subjects of both long walls being practically identical, with only trifling variations of detail, they are best considered together.

The architectural background of the design belongs to the type

[1] Miss van Deman, however, seems to think that the new passages at the back explored by Mr. Newton may have belonged to a lower story of the Paedagogium, and in effect the corridor, as may be seen on Marchetti's plan (where I have marked it with a D), had a different orientation from that of the house.

[2] The projection is visible in the photos on the left of Plate VIII. Fig. 1 and on the right of Plate VIII. Fig. 2, and is clearly indicated in plan at the bottom of Fig. 2.

familiar from the second style of Pompeian painting; on the recessed part of the long walls the scheme is as follows :—

The usual low skirting-board, which is an integral feature of the architectural style, is wanting, unless, indeed, as Huelsen surmises, it was supplied by some marble incrustation that has now totally disappeared. Above the line of the skirting-board a plane is drawn in vanishing perspective to a depth of about ·40 m.; at this distance from the front runs a high podium with central opening flanked by groups of two columns resting on high pedestals. It is difficult in the present condition of the painting to make out the exact construction intended by the artist; in his drawings Mr. Newton, faithful to his usual programme, shows the pictures in their present condition, weather-stains included,

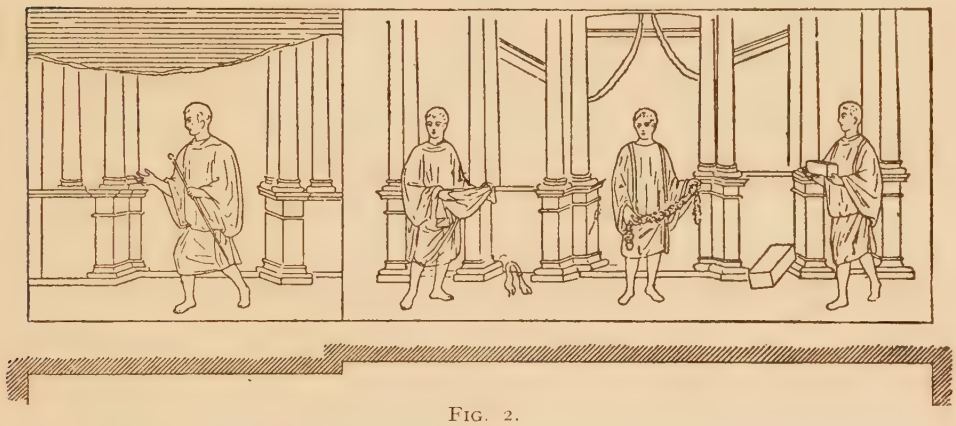


FIG. 2.

without any attempt at restoration; but with the help of the photos taken in 1888 and of one of Huelsen's outlines, reproduced in Fig. 2, it appears that the podium projected at regular intervals, forming pedestals for further groups of columns. Above the ledge of the podium the intercolumnations were left open. On each side of the central niche the vista discloses a curving wall with rich cornice. Midway between cornice and podium a female head is painted wearing a nimbus and rising from the calyx of a flower—a favourite Augustan device that recalls the 'Clytie.' According to Huelsen the spaces of the lateral intercolumnations were partially filled by a panel framed within dark pilasters. All this is now very indistinct, though a capricorn—another favourite Augustan device—

is still clearly to be made out on the upper part of the supposed panel above the heads of the fourth and the seventh figure and presumably occurred also above the second and fifth.[1] The tall pedestals are composed of a high entablature between rich mouldings and of a block resting on a heavily foliated basis which in its turn rests on a square plinth. The plain parts of middle block and of entablature show traces of various forms of ornament (fantastic animals ?) now difficult to make out. Festal garlands are looped up above the central intercolumnation.[2] A central niche flanked by groups of columns was repeated on the shallow projections on each side of the entrance.

We plainly have here a background borrowed from an earlier phase of the architectural style; the screen of columns produced the illusion of space beyond and behind it, and was at the same time calculated to let in, as it were, a flood of light into the room. The character of podium and columns shows that we have here the ordinary threefold horizontal division common to these architecture pictures; at the top, therefore, which is entirely lost, we may assume that an architrave ran above the columns at some distance below the actual line of the ceiling so as to give the effect of a continuous strip of sky seen above the colonnade.[3]

Eight figures, five of which are still extant, move in front of this architectural background: I shall describe them in their order from left to right:—

1 (Fig. 3). Between the columns pictured on *the projection of the wall on the left* a figure, clad in a tunic that reaches to a little below the knee, is seen hurrying forward with his right hand extended, and holding in his left a short staff with round knob. This is the tricliniarch or master of ceremonies, who is evidently imagined advancing from the dining-room to invite the guests assembled in the atrium to walk in and be seated at table. On the floor in front and behind him are utensils of uncertain shape and purpose.

[1] Both Marchetti and Huelsen interpret this design as a hippocamp, but the goat's head with horns and beard is still quite distinct, and may be seen in the photograph.

[2] Only faintly discernible in Mr. Newton's drawing.

[3] Fairly close analogies seem offered by the open colonnade of the room with the garlands of the House of Livia on the Palatine, and by the decorations from the circular corridor in the house from the Farnesina (Terme Museum, Room XIX. Helbig, 1464); in both these instances, however, the columns, which are of a much lighter character, rest direct on the ledge of the podium, without projecting pedestals, and support an architrave above which runs an unbroken frieze adorned with paintings.

2, 3, 4 (Plates III. and VIII.). *On the recessed part of the left wall* are three more serving men dressed like the tricliniarch; the one in the centre advances quietly from without into the room, and is seen in full face holding between his hands a long garland to be offered to one or other of the guests. On the left is another servant holding a *mappa* or table-napkin, which it was the custom to offer to guests on entering

FIG. 3.—THE TRICLINIARCH.
(= Plate III., left.)

the dining-room. This man has evidently entered from the opening resembling a side-wing on the extreme left; he is shown nearly facing with a movement of the arm towards the centre. Lying on the floor on the left is an object composed of a long hairy tail mounted in a split hoof, evidently a fly-flapper made of the tail and hoof of an ox, the

muscarium bubulum of Martial (xiv. 71). Similar fly-flappers are frequently represented on reliefs amongst sacrificial utensils.[1] On the right a third servant is seen in profile moving towards the centre and holding in his left hand a dish or basket of fruit; on the floor in front of him is a high box possibly containing silver or cutlery.

5, 6, 7 (*R. wall*, Plates IV. and IX.). Figure 5 is missing; figure 6 repeats figure 3, and was restored by Huelsen as wearing a wreath which, however, has now vanished, and which Mr. Newton has accordingly left out in his drawing. Figure 7, on the right, holding a *mappa*, repeats the motive of 2, but is turned more in profile towards the centre. At the foot of the column between 6 and 7 is a box for plate or cutlery (?) similar to the one noted on the opposite side.

8. (*On the projection of the right wall.*) Of this figure only the calf and foot of one leg are visible, but these are sufficient to show that a tricliniarch exactly balancing the one on the opposite side, and, like him, moving towards the atrium as if to invite the guests to enter, was also depicted here. Behind him on the floor are two sandals, probably for the use of the guests.

The floor is painted dark green, against which the light-yellow podium, supposed to be of marble,[2] is pleasantly relieved; the columns seem to be dark red; the flesh parts of the men are brown. They are clad in white, short girt tunics (*tunica succincta*) and over these each of the men seems to wear long purple bands, resembling stoles, falling to each side and joined just below the neck by a cross-piece. The close-cut locks and clean-shaven faces of the attendants are in keeping with the first-century character of the painting, to which we shall now return.

The architectural background imitates, as we have seen, the second Pompeian style, but the life-size figures moving in front of it are a feature unknown to Pompeian art, and a word must be said as to the manner in which they are introduced. The central open space and the side-wings recall certain corresponding features in the decoration of the House of Livia, where, however, the openings at the sides disclose the perspective of a street, while the central gap is filled by a vista-picture

[1] *E.g.* on the cornice of the temple of Vespasian; on a fragment of cornice at Ostia; on a basis in the Museo delle Terme (room XX. No. 670) and on a relief in the garden of the same Museum, etc.

[2] According to Huelsen an imitation of alabaster is intended.

containing a mythological subject intended perhaps for an easel picture, since this ideal landscape can have no connection with the street scenes of the sides. In our house the design is simpler and more homogeneous ; it merely suggests some gallery or loggia at the back of the wall, whence the figures move quite naturally into the room. No similar device, it is true, is known at Pompei, but other examples now lost may have existed in Rome, where many more varieties of style were probably current than in a small provincial town. Whatever the date of the house, we cannot be blind to the fact that the decoration of this room derives from an early phase of the architectural style ; this is confirmed by the simple poses and well-balanced movements of the figures whose clean-shaven faces and cut of hair have already been shown to be in the fashion of the first century.[1]

The figures are placed with great skill, so as to contribute to that illusion of circumambient space that was otherwise lacking. There is no doubt that the figures give actuality to the architecture, just as the various objects scattered about the floor are nicely calculated to help the illusion of depth. At the same time it is easy to criticise and to object that it is in doubtful taste to adorn the walls of a room with figures of 'waiters,' or to show an untidy collection of miscellaneous objects on the floor. Those who are now learning to admire the severe and stately art of Imperial Rome naturally look with disfavour upon subjects like the present—the outcome of a certain frivolous strain in Hellenistic art and taste of which even a more outrageous example is afforded by the *ἀσάρωτος οἶκος*, the 'unswept floor,' done in mosaic by one

[1] Marchetti points out that a series of paintings with similar subjects was discovered in a house near the Lateran in 1780 and published in 1783 by G. M. Cassini (*Pitture Antiche ritrovate nello scavo aperto di ordine di N. S. Pio Sesto in una vigna accanto il V Ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano*, Anno 1780) : the house has long since disappeared ; it contained a spacious *loggia* or *galleria* decorated with a series of figures carrying trays with various eatables (sucking-pig, chicken, fruit, cereals, etc.) and one dispensing wine, each enclosed in a tall panel. Of the seven figures discovered (and published by Cassini) apparently only two and portions of a third survived. As far as can be judged from engravings of the period of 1783, the action seems somewhat akin to that of our 'waiters,' though Cassini or one of his collaborators may be right in deducing from the gorgeousness of the garments, and the character of the objects which they carry, that the figures are not ordinary servants but rather ministrants in a scene of ritual. The three extant figures (of which one is thought to be female) are now in Naples (*Guida Ruesch*, p. 58, n. 185–7, Inv. 84, 284–6), where they are attributed to the third–fourth century ; in any case they would be considerably later than ours. The garments are adorned with heavy medallions embroidered with pearls.

Sosos of Pergamon, the memory of which was handed down by ancient art critics for the admiration and example of posterity. A replica or imitation of this unsavoury unswept floor is known from the mosaic in the Lateran signed by the Greek Herakleitos, in which every kind of table refuse is represented: chicken bones, bits of meat and lobster, snails, vegetable refuse, nuts, and half-eaten fruits, and the mice nibbling at these remnants—to such a depth of artistic depravity could the search for naturalism bring people otherwise endowed with such consummate good taste as the Greeks. Our painting, with its waiters and scattered table utensils, is an interesting reminder of what could be attempted by clever Greek house decorators working for Roman patrons belonging to fashionable Philhellenic circles.

While a certain element in our pictures lends itself to the reproach brought against them by a writer in the *Builder*, of being 'crude, vulgar, and commonplace,'[1] it must not be forgotten on the other hand that the spatial distribution of the figures against an architectural background invests them with peculiar interest, not only for the study of ancient painting, but also in view of the application of similar principles to modern decoration, with its new striving after illusions of space. Another merit, derived from the earlier Pompeian styles, resides in their simple homogeneous character. The recapture of this quality is also a modern aim: everywhere we see the beginnings of a reaction from the discordant and illogical decoration which long allowed pictures of different styles and periods to hang side by side by means of cords from nails or rods over a patterned wall-paper; of an attempt at a saner method of decoration by means of wall-paintings or of panelled pictures. Here I venture to reassert what I already said at our Annual Meeting in December, 1914, that the study of ancient wall-paintings, more especially of the earlier periods, is a help to students by showing how buildings may be decorated so as to enhance the sense of light and air, instead of apparently diminishing, as too often happens, the actual space at command.

The Corridor D.

The next set of paintings I have to consider is quite unknown, their discovery being due to Mr. Newton, who at the time he was copying in Room C penetrated into the other chambers also, and detected the

[1] *Builder*, December 18, 1914.

not inconsiderable remains of painting on the vault of a corridor behind Room A (Plates V. to VII.). It is marked D on Fig. 1, and, as already noted, belonged probably to the ground-floor of the *paedagogium*.[1]

The scheme of the design, the greater part of which is lost, is purely Claudio-Neronian in character; it consisted of a series of large squares each divided into four parts by the four arms of a cross with a circle in the centre, the principal arms being broken at the top and the base by the system of decorated rectangles which form the border, an arrangement resembling that of the stucco ceiling in the 'Volta Dorata' in the Golden House of Nero,[2] while the alternation of squares and rectangles is found on several other ceilings of the Golden House. It also occurs in the barrel vault of the room of Neronian date embedded in a complex of buildings under the Palace of Severus on the Palatine, which I published in my first paper (*P.B.S.R.* vii., Pl. VIII. and Fig. 1), and the arrangement is characteristic of the painting of that period.[3] On the other hand, the leaf-fringed patternings of the geometric figures and the border of fantastic animals with fore-parts resembling winged horses, carried out in brilliant red, all have their analogies in the decoration of the long barrel-vaulted corridor of the Golden House.[4] Delicate uprights built up of floral scrolls on the honeysuckle pattern support naturalistic garlands of leaves and broad-petalled flowers (Plate VII.). Garlands are familiar from Graeco-Roman paintings of late Republican and early Augustan date, but these delicate variations of the theme recall the Golden House, and seem especially influenced by the finicking 'Columbarium style' which, as Dr. Ashby has shown,[5] was constantly imitated in the decoration of the Neronian period, and of which the Golden House, the present ceiling, and that of the barrel vault in the Neronian room on the Palatine are prominent examples. Thus, while the wall-paintings in Room C present strong affinities to an earlier phase of the architectural style, the design of the ceiling in the corridor reflects the manner of the Claudio-Neronian period. It seems to follow, therefore, from a consideration of all the paintings now published that the styles of decoration,

[1] See above, p. 94, n. 1. Dr. E. van Deman (see App.) judges the brickwork to be not earlier than Domitian.

[2] Weege in *Arch. Jahrbuch*, 1913 (xxviii.), pp. 167–169 and Figs. 12–15.

[3] *Cf.* especially Weege, *loc. cit.* Figs. 55, 56 and Pl. XX.

[4] *Ib.* Figs. 41, 42, 43.

[5] See his note in *P.B.S.R.* vii., p. 123.

common to the first century, long survived the destruction of Pompei, and were repeated with but small variations down to the end of the second century A.D. and perhaps longer. I do not propose, however, to attempt any analysis or summing up of results till further examples can be adduced. The question is one to which we shall have occasion to return frequently, if, as we hope, we are able to publish the neglected wall-paintings from the numerous Roman tombs in and near Rome.[1]

APPENDIX

ON THE DATE OF THE BRICKWORK OF THE HOUSE IN THE VIA DE' CERCHI AND OF THE SURROUNDING BUILDINGS.

By ESTHER B. VAN DEMAN, PH.D.

The group of remains on the southwest slope of the Palatine of which the *paedagogium* forms the centre is composed structurally of three main parts. The first of these, that lying immediately below the so-called *academia* in the rear of the Flavian palace, consists of a broad platform from which a flight of steps led to the buildings of Domitian above. This platform is composed mainly of a massive substructure of *selce* concrete supported by a heavy retaining wall faced, in part, with triangular bricks, in front of which is an earlier wall also faced on the outside with triangular bricks.

In front of the platform and at a lower level lies a second building, at least two stories in height, the back of which is built against the wall just mentioned, from which it differs slightly in orientation. The upper story of this building, commonly known as the *paedagogium*, consists of a row of lofty rooms opening upon a porticus, or colonnade, beyond which is a space broader than the porticus, which is as yet unexcavated. Below the porticus and the open space are two long corridors upon the vaulting of the larger of which see the paintings discovered by Mr. Newton (Plates V.–VII.).

Against the outer wall of this larger corridor, at the same level but with a very different orientation from it, was built, at a later time, a third structure, the private house to which Lanciani [2] applies the name of Domus Gelotiana.

The relative age of the three buildings is clear. The general period of their erection, moreover, is, though less evident, no less certain. The platform above, from its architectural and structural relation to the Flavian buildings in its rear and its peculiar type of construction, must be assigned to the period of Domitian or to the extensive restorations of the Palatine carried out by Hadrian.

That the second member of the group, the *paedagogium*, though differing but little in type from that just described, must have been built subsequently to it, or at least to the wall in front of it, is clear from the partial destruction of this wall at the time of the erection of the lower building. On this evidence alone it might conjecturally be

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[1] For the rich harvest to be gleaned here see my *Apotheosis and Afterlife*, pp. 205–213.

[2] *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 186 and Fig. 70 above p. 91, n. 1.

assigned to the time of Domitian or a little later. Fortunately this conjecture becomes a certainty owing to the presence in the original wall of the lower corridor of a brick stamp of this general period.[1] The type of construction, so far as it has been possible at present to determine, is that belonging to the period of Domitian or of Hadrian.

The general period of the erection of the last of the series of buildings under discussion, the so-called *Domus Gelotiana*,[2] is that of the Severans or a little later. This is shown clearly not only by the general construction but most strikingly by the use of broken *bipedales* for the brick facing—a type of facing found in no dated monuments earlier than those of the Severans and especially characteristic of their work.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO P. 98.

The long purple bands resembling stoles of the serving men may be compared to the similar shaped garment worn by the shop assistant who stands on the extreme right of the relief representing an embroidery shop in the Uffizi (Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, No. 168; *Einzelverkauf*, 379). As this relief and its companion (Amelung, No. 167) are of early or late Republican date (*cf.* Sieveking in Austrian *Jahreshefte*, 1910, p. 96) the point just noted is a further confirmation of the early character, if not actually of the early date, of the paintings in the *triclinium* of the House in the Via de' Cerchi.

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[1] *C.I.L.* XV. 1097 (75–108 A.D.).

[2] *i.e.* the aforementioned house in the Via de' Cerchi.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

Vol. VIII. No. 5.

THE VIA TRAIANA.

By THOMAS ASHBY and ROBERT GARDNER.

A.—The History of the Via Traiana.

Long before the Romans had established the foundations of their power in Southern Italy, there must necessarily have existed numerous natural routes of communication between the principal centres of population, which were later utilised by the conquerors as they developed and civilised what they had won with their swords. As the Romans advanced from point to point, planting in the best strategical positions military colonies, which not only secured freshly conquered territory, but also served as bases from which advances against tribes, still unsubjugated, could be directed, it was essential that each new outpost, particularly if it had been established in an area in which there still remained an openly menacing foe, should be connected with a base of strength and security by an easy means of communication.

A natural line of passage between Maleventum, the chief town of the Hirpini, which the Romans colonised as Beneventum in 268 B.C., and the north Apulian plain, must have existed since very early times, In the very heart of this plain lay the important city of Luceria, which, before the establishment there of a Latin colony in 314 B.C., was favourably disposed to Rome. It was in order to relieve that city from the pressure of a besieging army of Samnites that a Roman army marched from

Calatia, only to be entrapped in the Caudine Forks. Whatever doubts may be cast upon the authenticity of Livy's narrative where he describes that notorious catastrophe, it is not open to us to dispute his indications relating to the two ways by which Luceria was reached from Rome in 321 B.C. He says (ix. 2): 'Duae ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaque, sed quanto tutior, tanto fere longior, altera per furculas Caudinas, brevior.' There is only one difficulty connected with this passage—and even that may be overcome by a very probable conjecture. That there was a road running to Luceria along the coast of the Adriatic, in the plain between the edge of the Apennines and the sea, is from the very nature of the country indisputable. But Livy fails to enlighten us upon this most interesting and important question: 'How did this road from Rome cross the Apennines in order to reach the easy stretches down the Adriatic coast to Apulia?' To this question, difficult as it may seem, there can only be one correct answer. The route followed by the old Via Tiburtina, prolonged at later dates to the Adriatic through Carseoli, Alba Fucens, Corfinium and Teate as the Via Valeria and the Via Claudia Valeria, was the only practicable way connecting Rome with a coast road leading by the Adriatic to Luceria. It is probable that the other route ('altera per furculas Caudinas, brevior') followed the Via Latina[1] from Rome to Capua, and thence the later course of the Via Appia to Maleventum (as it was then called).

We might, again, desiderate a little more clearness in Livy's narrative, when we ask ourselves, what was the course of the road between the *furculae Caudinae* and Luceria? But a careful study of the geography of the Apennines between Beneventum and Luceria will reveal to us the route which the troops of Calvinus and Postumius would have taken if they had escaped the ignominy of capture in the Caudine Forks. From Caudium (the modern Montesarchio, which stands upon a commanding eminence to the south-east of Monte Taburno) the valley of the Corvo, an affluent of the Calore, later followed by the Via Appia, would take them to the Hirpinian Maleventum. Thence they would have struck

[1] Since Capua joined Rome in 340–338 B.C. and since the colony of Cales was founded in 334, we might even assume that the Via Latina was the first military highroad to Capua. Cf. *Papers of British School at Rome*, iv. 4 *seq.* The Via Appia is clearly out of the question unless Appius made use of an old track) as it was not constructed until 312 B.C.

in a north-easterly direction, keeping as far as possible to the valley of the Miscano until they reached the watershed from which this stream and the Celone (the ancient Aquilo) descend north and south respectively. Near the modern Buccolo di Troia they would arrive at the end of their climb—to find Luceria in sight, about sixteen miles away.

It has also been thought[1] that an ancient road left the Via Appia at Aeclanum and ran north from the valley of the Ufita in a gradual ascent to the neighbourhood of the modern Ariano di Puglia, whence it descended into the valley of the Cerbalus (the present Cervaro) and reached Herdoniae (Ordona) after forty-four miles by way of Vibinum (Bovino). But, although the highroad, constructed in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the railway from Benevento to Foggia follow the valley of the Cervaro for a score of miles, there is no evidence whatever to show that an ancient road ever passed that way.

To the traveller who chances to pass over the slowly rising country between the modern village of Ordona and the cathedral town of Troia, the clear-cut ravine, where the Cervaro issues out from its mountain prison into the freedom of the Apulian plain, seems destined by nature for the passage of an ancient highway. But at the headwaters of the Cervaro things are totally different. The modern railway from Benevento only reaches them by circuitous and extensive tunnelling, and we must remember that the engineers of Roman roads conquered their difficulties in quite a different way. On the hypothesis that an ancient road utilised the valley of the Cervaro, we must assume that its construction was started on the south and not on the north side of the source of that river; and the nature of the country between Benevento and the entrance to its convenient valley compels us to conclude that the disadvantages of the ascent to the summit level where the Cervaro rises outweighed the advantages of the descent on the other side. Therefore, if before the construction of the Via Traiana in 109 A.D. there was a Roman road leading from Beneventum to the north Apulian plain, it followed the valleys of the Calore Miscano and Celone rather than that of the Cervaro.

[1] Nissen, *Ital. Land.* ii. pp. 818, 819. He identifies this road with the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis, but beyond the republican milestone (*C.I.L.* ix. 6073) existing at S. Maria della Manna, between Grottaminarda and Ariano di Puglia, which he wrongly refers to this road and not with Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 602) to the Via Appia, he has no evidence at all for the existence of this road.

It was by this way that Hannibal passed in 217 B.C. when he marched from Arpi[1] to Beneventum and Telesia, while the foundation of the colony of Sipontum in 194 B.C. would contribute also to its importance.

Although it is highly improbable from the absence of milestones and direct literary evidence that in the Republican times there was a *via publica*[2] which connected Beneventum with the north Apulian plain, and so by a natural extension with the important ports of Barium and Brundisium, it is indisputable that in the last century of the Republic there was a recognised route between Beneventum and Brundisium (other than the Via Appia) which followed the old track from Beneventum towards Luceria and, reaching the plain, continued until it arrived at its final destination.

The following evidence bears testimony to the existence of this route. Cicero writes to Atticus (vi. 1, 1) that he has received ' Omnes fere (litteras) quas commemoras, praeter eas quas scribis Lentuli pueris et

[1] Livy, xxii. 13, 1. Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit. ' Hirpinis ' is Weissenborn's reading. Grasso (*Studi*, vol. iii. pp. 1–18) wishes to read ' ex Arpinis.'

Dr. Reid feels a difficulty about the reading ' ex Arpinis ' upon the score of Latinity. He does not know of any parallel to this use of *ex* with the name of a town population, not a people. He points out also that one would gather from the reading *ex Arpinis* that Hannibal went straight to Beneventum. But evidently both Livy and Polybius make him do destruction to the south of it before he came near it. This leads naturally to the supposition that he passed by Aquilonia, which suits the reading *ex Hirpinis*.

[2] The difficult question of the Via Minucia is quite unsolved. From Cicero, *ad Att.* ix. 6 (*cohortesque sex quae Albae fuissent ad Curium via Minucia transisse*) and from the indications supplied by Caesar, B.C. i. 16 and 24, it is clear that Alba Fucens lay upon it, and from Horace, *Ep.* i. 18, 20 (Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi), that it was an alternative route to the Via Appia between Rome and Brundisium. It is unfortunate that we do not know where Curius, Caesar's partisan, was when he was joined by the six defaulting cohorts. It could not have been another name for the Via Valeria, which, constructed in 154 B.C., led in Strabo's time from Tibur to Alba Fucens and Corfinium. In 48–49 A.D. it was prolonged to the *ostia Aterni* (*C.I.L.* ix. 5973) by Claudius as the Via Claudia Valeria. Bunbury (*Dict. Geog.* ii. 1282) thinks that the Via Minucia may have been the road described by Strabo (vi. 3, 7) between Brundisium and Beneventum, but it is impossible to reconcile this with Cicero, *ad Att.* ix. 6. It may be suggested that the road running from Corfinium on the Via Valeria to Beneventum on the Via Appia through Sulmo, Aufidena, Aesernia, Bovianum Undecimanorum and Saepinum may have been partially or wholly the Via Minucia. Brundisium would then be reached from Beneventum by Strabo's road. Such a road is indicated by the Itineraries (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 203). It is tempting to imagine that a cross road may have run between Corfinium and Strabo's road, reaching the latter at Aequum Tuticum, but the character of the country no less than the entire absence of evidence, militates against this supposition. Mommsen says (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 589) *vasta regio quae interiacet inter Valeriam et Latinam Traianamque antiqua aetate viis publicis populi Romani fere caruisse videtur.* Cf. also *C.I.L.* vol. ix. Tab. iii.

Equotutico et Brundisio datas.' Since the old Samnite city of Aequum Tuticum is most certainly to be identified with the modern site of S. Eleuterio, near the head waters of the Miscano between Benevento and Troia, we must admit that Cicero, and countless other travellers as well, travelled from Beneventum to Brundisium along a regular route, which crossed the Apennines by approximately the same way as the old road from the Caudine Forks to Luceria.

Much more definite still is the information supplied by Horace and Strabo. The poet,[1] in describing the journey which in 38 B.C. he made between Rome and Brundisium in the company of Maecenas, Virgil, Varius and others, says that after Beneventum he passed near Trivicum, through an 'oppidulum, quod versu dicere non est,' Canusium, Rubi, Barium and Gnatia. Strabo,[2] writing in the age of Augustus, says: 'Furthermore, for those who are crossing from Greece and Asia it is more direct to sail to Brundisium, and indeed all passengers for Rome land there. Thence there are two routes, one of which is a mule track and advances through the Peucetii, who are called the Poedicli, the Daunii and the Samnites as far as Beneventum. On this route lie the cities of Egnatia, Caelia, Netium, Canusium and Herdoniae. The other, which makes a slight détour to the left involving an extra day's journey, is called the Via Appia, and is more suitable for carriages. On this are the cities of Uria and Venusia, the one between Tarentum and Brundisium, the other on the boundary between the Samnites and the Lucanians. Starting from Brundisium they meet at Beneventum.' Horace did not follow the Via Appia all the way from Rome to Brundisium, but only to a point just beyond Beneventum. From Strabo the distinction between the old Via Appia, through Venusia and Tarentum, and the 'mule track'[3] through Egnatia, Canusium and Herdoniae is perfectly clear. But we must consider for a moment the divergences between the routes described respectively by Horace and Strabo. The two cities which are common to both are Canusium and Gnatia. From Gnatia to Brundisium it is *prima facie* apparent that the two routes coincided exactly; there can be no reason for any possible divergence. But the two courses

[1] Horace, *Sat.* 1, 5.

[2] Strabo, vi. 3, 7, c. 282, 283.

[3] We must notice that Strabo says 'ἁμαξήλατος μᾶλλον' of the Via Appia and must assume that carriage traffic was not out of the question on the other road, which he designates as 'ἡμιονική'—*i.e.* more convenient for mules than carriages.

between Beneventum and Canusium constitute a serious problem, compared with which that relating to those between the latter city and Gnatia sinks into insignificance. It is unfortunate that Strabo does not mention the name of any intermediate city between Herdoniae and Beneventum, and that Horace does not describe more lucidly the position of his *oppidulum*. However, it is almost certain that the two are concerned with quite different routes, for the following reasons. In the first place, Strabo distinctly says that the two roads from Brundisium met 'at Beneventum.' Horace's[1] language is as follows :—

> Incipit ex illo (Benevento) montes Apulia notos
> ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos
> numquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
> villa recepisset, ...
> Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia raedis,
> mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est,
> signis perfacile est : venit vilissima rerum
> hic aqua ; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
> callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator ;
> nam Canusi lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna
> qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.

There is no necessity to quote the multitudinous opinions which have been expressed from time to time with regard to the identity of that mysterious *oppidulum* in which Horace spent a night. That it was Aequum Tuticum is impossible, since, not only was that place quite out of the line which Horace certainly took, but there is a beautiful fountain of water there (and, indeed, the whole neighbourhood is full of springs), so that one of the essential conditions is not fulfilled. We discern only two fixed points on Horace's journey between Beneventum and Canusium—a 'villa Trivici vicina' and an 'oppidulum' 24 miles away from that stopping-place. In order to reach the vicinity of Trivicum (probably the modern village of Trevico, situated on a magnificent summit 1,090 metres above the sea) he must have followed the Via Appia from Beneventum to Aeclanum and then, *leaving* it, have diverged to the left and entered the valley of the Fiumarella (the Vallone dei Franchi) just north-west of the modern village of Flumeri. There is an easy

[1] *Satires*, i. 5, 77–92.

course along this valley until the summit level is reached N.N.E. of Trevico, from which spot there is a glorious view of that mountain village. From Horace's language, 'quattuor hinc *rapimur* viginti et milia raedis,' may we not suppose that he is speaking of a rapid rush down from a summit level? The character of the route, which was the only possible choice for Horace after he had left the villa and its smoky kitchen near Trivicum, was to follow the convenient valley of the Calaggio, which is known in its later course as the Carapelle and flows past the villages of Candela, Ascoli Satriano and Ordona into the north Apulian plain. As we can locate with approximate certainty the position of the 'vicina Trivici villa,' whence it was a descent of 24 miles to the unmetrical and waterless *oppidulum*, it seems best to follow the consensus[1] of modern opinion and say that Horace and his fellow travellers descended the Calaggio valley to the ancient Ausculum (the modern Ascoli Satriano), and then cut across the plateau to the road described by Strabo, which they would meet near Canusium or perhaps not far from the modern Cerignola. Thus it is clear that between Canusium and Beneventum Horace and Strabo describe different routes. The poet left the Via

[1] Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 62) and Nissen (*Ital. Land.* ii. p. 845) both favour Ausculum. Grasso (*Studi di storia antica*, 1893, p. 57–75) likewise suggests Ausculum, but later in the appendix to the same edition (pp. 146, 147) he is inclined to place his faith in Herdoniae. This idea he develops in the introduction to *Studi*, vol. ii. 1896, with the conclusion that Herdoniae must have been the *oppidulum*, since the correct form (Herdoniae) is clearly unmetrical, much more so than Ausculum. Besides, Ausculum is on a lofty hill three or four miles north of the direct line from the Calaggio valley to Cerignola or Canosa and no ancient road would have gone in and out of Ausculum. On the score of actual distance neither Ausculum nor Herdoniae entirely satisfies the equation. If Horace's 'vicina Trivici villa' be located at the summit level on the watershed between the valleys of the Fiumarella and the Calaggio, then Ausculum (29 kilometres or about 20 Roman miles distant) is too near and Herdoniae (43 kilometres or some 28 Roman miles) is too distant. The question is complicated by our uncertain knowledge of the time spent by Horace between Beneventum and Trivicum. If he spent only one day, perhaps we must place his villa somewhere in the Vallone dei Franchi before the summit level is reached, and so Ausculum is more satisfactory than Herdoniae, because by taking the villa farther back the distance to Ausculum more nearly approaches 24 miles. That the 'vicina Trivici villa' is a varying factor naturally makes the *oppidulum* correspondingly variable. It is only a theory of despair to suppose that Horace was mistaken in the distance, and as neither Ausculum nor Herdoniae is convincingly satisfactory, perhaps Horace passed the night at some village whose memorials have perished with it.

Dr. J. S. Reid thinks that one point against Ausculum is that Horace would not have hesitated to contract the name to Ausclum, if he wanted to get it into the verse (so Silius Italicus, viii. 440). As the *u* between *c* and *l* is not represented on the Oscan coins, one may conjecture that the local pronunciation of the name was probably still Ausclum. As to the 24 miles, some astounding errors are on record as made by Roman travellers. See L. W. Hunter, 'Cicero's Journey to his Province in 51 B.C.' in *J.R.S.* vol. iii. Pt. i. 1913, p. 73–97.

Appia not at Beneventum, but at or a little beyond Aeclanum (the first station, 15 miles from Beneventum) and, crossing the Apennine chain by means of the convenient valleys of the Fiumarella and the Calaggio, reached the line of the road described by Strabo somewhere between Herdoniae and Canusium. The geographer, since he distinctly says that the two roads between Brundisium and Beneventum meet at the latter place, and not before, must mean that after passing through Herdoniae the 'mule-track' reached Beneventum by way of the valley of the Aquilo (the modern T. Celone), Aequum Tuticum and the valleys of the Miscano and Calore. Horace's route between Aeclanum and the north Apulian plain was in Imperial times converted into the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis,[1] while the road described by Strabo became in 109 A.D. the famous Via Traiana.

For the stretch between Canusium and Gnatia it is easy to reconcile the divergent statements of Horace and Strabo. From Canusium the former passed through Rubi before reaching the coast at Barium, following the line of the later Via Traiana through the modern Bitonto. From Barium he would descend down the coast to Gnatia (the present Torre d'Egnazia). Strabo, on the other hand (if we describe his route from west to east and not *vice versa*), says that the recognised route passed inland through Netium and Caelia between Canusium and Gnatia. Both routes were in regular use in Imperial times and the divergence is treated in detail later on (pages 161–2).

Upon the conclusion of the conquest of Italy the Via Appia lost all importance as a military highroad, for it was outside Italy rather than within her borders that troops were henceforth required to operate. In short, the Via Appia soon became a means of reaching Brundisium much more than a mode of connection with Venusia and Tarentum, whose importance decreased just as that of Brundisium increased. Except in times of Civil War there was no longer any urgent necessity for the maintenance of direct military communications between Venusia, the military colony of 291 B.C., and Rome. Tarentum became a health resort and lived on the proceeds of her fleecy sheep from the Galaesus' pastures and on her purple fisheries. But Brundisium became a harbour of surpassing importance, for it was there that soldiers, merchants,

[1] An inscription of Aeclanum (*C.I.L.* ix. 1156) speaks of work "*in via ducente Herdonias.*"

and all manner of travellers took ship for Greece and the East. And to-day its importance is no less striking. Owing to the sovereign consideration of speed to the ancient no less than to the modern traveller, it was of great advantage to be able to reach Brundisium from Beneventum by a route other than the Via Appia, which had the saving merit, so Strabo says, of being shorter by one day than the old Republican highroad. It is true that according to the Itineraries (which are practically accurate) the distance from Beneventum to Brundisium by the Via Appia was 197 miles, whereas by the Via Traiana (through Barium) it was about 206 miles. But we must remember that Strabo is speaking of a difference in time, not in distance ; that the inland route which he describes between Gnatia and Butunti was 4 miles[1] shorter than the longer route (followed by the Via Traiana) through Barium and Rubi ; and that a mule track can accommodate itself to difficult country much more readily than a paved highroad. There is another consideration, too. Not until Venusia is reached, 66 miles from Beneventum, does the Via Appia become level and easy, whereas, although the other road has to encounter equally severe hills between Beneventum and the summit level beyond Aequum Tuticum (971 metres near the Masseria S. Vito), its troubles are over after 40 miles and there is not another serious hill all the way to Brundisium. This factor may contribute to the difference in time. Thus it is easy to admit that Strabo was correct in saying that the Via Appia was the longer of the two routes by one day, even though in point of actual mileage, according to the Itineraries, the later Via Traiana exceeded the earlier road by some 9 miles. According to measurements, however, the Via Appia from Beneventum to Brundisium was about 203 miles, the Via Traiana 205. If the difference was one day in Strabo's time, it ought to have been even greater when the mule track became a highroad.

There is much eloquent testimony to demonstrate that both roads were in frequent use during the last century of the Republic and the first century of the Empire. For example, in 49 B.C. Pompey writes to Cicero thus : 'Censeo via Appia iter facias et celeriter Brundisium venias' ; while, on the other hand, we have the evidence of Horace, Cicero and Strabo previously quoted, no less than the frequent mention of Canusium in descriptions of journeys to Brundisium.

[1] The coast route between Butunti and Gnatia is 49, the inland route is 45 miles long.

Although we have seen that in Republican times and in the first century of the Empire a recognised highroad, quite distinct from the Via Appia, connected Beneventum and Brundisium by way of Aequum Tuticum, Herdoniae, Canusium and Gnatia, we have no evidence whatever to show that this road was over a *via publica*, paved, maintained and administered by the State, until in 109 A.D.[1] the Emperor Trajan constructed at his own expense a road leading from Beneventum to Brundisium. This was the Via Traiana. Of the original milestones erected by Trajan we possess a remarkable[2] collection; they are all of the following pattern:—

IMP · CAESAR
DIVI · NERVAE · F
NERVA · TRAIANVS
AVG · GERM · DACIC
PONT · MAX · TR · POT
XIIII · IMP VI COS V
P P
VIAM A BENEVENTO
BRVNDISIVM PECVN
SVA FECIT.

In the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 6005 (belonging to a cippus, not a milestone, Fig. 1. see below, p. 127) there is the very noteworthy addition of 'ET PONTES' after 'VIAM,' and 'PECVNIA' was written in full. With the exception of these milestones we possess singularly little evidence relating to the Via Traiana. Nowhere is it mentioned in classical literature; its name is not expressly stated in the ancient Itineraries, although the stations and distances are recorded with clearness and accuracy, except in one or two notorious places. But we possess numismatic evidence of the existence of the Via Traiana. Coins[3] struck under Trajan bear the following inscription:—

IMP · CAES · NERVAE · TRAIANO · AVG · GER · DAC · P · M · | TR · P · COS · VI · P · P · | S · P · Q · R · OPTIMO · PRINCIPI · VIA TRAIANA.

[1] De la Berge, *Essai sur le règne de Trajan*, p. 108, thinks, on the other hand, that the operations began in 109 A.D. and finished three or four years later.

[2] *C.I.L.* ix. 5998–6055. The original stones of Trajan constitute the *bulk* of the extant milestones of this road.

[3] Cohen,[2] 647–652.

A woman holding a wheel in her hands shows that the road was adapted for carriage traffic.

FIG. 1.—*C.I.L.* ix. 6005.

The name Via Traiana is also read upon a coin[1] struck in the third century A.D. under the name of Trajan, as follows :—

IMP · TRAIANO · PIO · FEL · AVG · P · P · and VIA TRAIANA on the reverse.

To the left is a woman reclining upon a wheel and holding a whip.

It has been thought that on the north-east attic of the Arch of Constantine at Rome there is a symbolic representation[2] of the Via

[1] Cohen,[2] 667.

[2] For the earlier sculptures incorporated in the Arch of Constantine see E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 291. Prof. Petersen (*Röm. Mitth.* 1890, 73 ff) has shown that all the eight panels on the Arch of Constantine belong to a monument erected in 176 A.D. to commemorate the double triumph of Marcus Aurelius over the Germans and Sarmatians which took place in the closing months of the year. Cf. H. Stuart Jones in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. iii. p. 251 *seq.*

Traiana, in the shape of a woman seated upon the ground and reclining upon a wheel. Near her is seen the Emperor accompanied by two bearded men, one of whom is holding a scroll in his hand. De la Berge[1] thinks that this figure represents the engineer who constructed the Via Traiana, and that because the Romans were clean-shaven until the reign of Hadrian, this detail shows the engineer to be a foreigner, probably a Greek. It has been suggested[2] that the bearded figure represents Apollodorus, the famous architect who constructed Trajan's bridge over the Danube.

Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiv. 3, 8) records as follows an oath of Trajan: *sic in provinciarum speciem redactam videam Daciam*: *sic pontibus Histrum et Aufidum superem.* The codex Vaticanus, 1873, *longe praestantissimus* (followed by Gardthausen in his edition of Ammian, Leipzig, 1873, p. 11), reads *Aufidum. Euphratem*, however, is preferred by Gardthausen and is read also by Gronovius (1693) and the earlier printed edd. of 1517, and 1533. Clark, the latest editor, conjectures *ut Aufidum*, but the plural is against this. Grasso (*Studi*, vol. ii. p. 18) rightly remarks that the Parthian war did not take place till 114 A.D., so that the substitution of Euphrates for Aufidus cannot be explained without supposing that Trajan already intended to subdue the Parthians completely and build a bridge over the Euphrates while he was preparing for the conquest of Dacia and throwing a bridge across the Danube. Indeed 'Histrum et Euphratem' would be a kind of hendiadys. 'Aufidum,' which implies a civil feat, seems much superior.

The name 'Via Traiana' survived till comparatively late times, as we can gather from the evidence of Johannes Baptista dello Iacono di Bitonto quoted by Pratilli[3] in his work upon the Via Appia. Iacono stated that he had personally given to Pratilli information received from notaries of Ruvo and Terlizzi 'who still speak of the Via Traiana every day when they make mention of local boundaries.' This survival of trustworthy local tradition is of great interest and importance. It is a very powerful auxiliary in determining the course of an ancient road.

Two of the most conspicuous monuments of the Via Traiana were not erected until after the construction of the road. At Brundisium

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 108.

[2] Grasso, *Studi*, vol. ii. p. 26.

[3] Pratilli, *La Via Appia*, p. 432. Cf. *C.I.L.* ix. p. 593. Mommsen says (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 27) PRATILLIVS in Via Appia (1745) quae de Apulia profert, ea quatenus vera sunt, proficiscuntur fere ab Johanne Baptista DELLO IACONO Bitontino, ...

in 110 A.D. a statue of Trajan was erected by the *decuriones* and the *municipes* of the place. We gather this from *C.I.L.* ix. 37.

IMP · CAESARI · DIVI
NERVAE · F · NERVAE
TRAIANO · AVG · GERM
DACI · PONT · MAX · TR
POT · XIV · IMP · VI · COS · V · P · P
BRVNDISINI · DECVRIONES
ET MVNICIPES

FIG. 2.—ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTUM.

In the Empire it was a common practice for the statues of the emperors responsible for the construction of a road to be placed at the head of that road. For instance, we gather from *C.I.L.* ix. 1175 that at Aeclanum, at the head of the road to Herdoniae '*euntibus in Apuliam* (*parata*)' (*C.I.L.* ix. 1414) statues were erected of the emperors, presumably Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, by whose permission it was constructed. Nothing further, however, is known of Trajan's statue at Brundisium.

One of the grandest works of art in the Roman world was the triumphal arch[1] erected at Beneventum by the senate and people of Rome in honour of Trajan (Fig. 2). It was intended that Trajan, in a triumphant return from his Parthian conquests, should pass along the Via Traiana and through this arch. But his death at Selinuntum (117 A.D.) prevented this. The arch was erected in 114 A.D. just outside the walls of Beneventó where the Via Traiana left the city. It is now called the Porta Aurea and is a splendid and appropriate monument to the civil and military exploits of the Emperor. The dedication is as follows (*C.I.L.* ix. 5998) :—

IMP · CAESARI · DIVI · NERVAE · FILIO
NERVAE · TRAIANO · OPTIMO · AVG
GERMANICO · DACICO · PONTIF · MAX · TRIB
POTEST · XVIIII · IMP · VII · COS · VI · P · P ·
FORTISSIMO · PRINCIPI · SENATVS · P · Q · R.

Of actual repairs performed upon the Via Traiana we have little record, but we possess several milestones erected in later times. With the exception of the difficulties involved in crossing the hilly country between Benevento and Troia (Aecae) no great engineering feats were necessary for the completion of the road.[2] Beyond the Aufidus the 'regna arida Dauni' did not obstruct the course of the Via Traiana along its later stretches.

The inscription (*C.I.L.* ix. 6010 misprinted 6011) found near the Ponte delle Chianche below Buonalbergo records repairs performed by

[1] The chief literature upon the arch is as follows :—
E. Petersen, *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1892, p. 241 *et seq.*
A. von Domaszewski, *Jahreshefte des Österreich. archäologischen Instituts* ii. 1899, 173, *Die politische Bedeutung des Traiansbogen im Benevent.*
Rossini, *Archi trionfali*, tav. 38–43.
Meomartini, *Monumenti di Benevento*, 1889, pp. 9–218 and Tav. 1–29.

[2] In the construction, however, of the long bridges over the Cervaro and the Carapelle (see pages 142, 146 *infra*) the engineers would encounter very considerable difficulties in finding a firm foundation and would probably have to dig quite deep through the subsoil. It was not possible from an examination of the remains of these bridges appearing above ground to form an idea of the nature of the foundations, but probably excavations would yield interesting results.

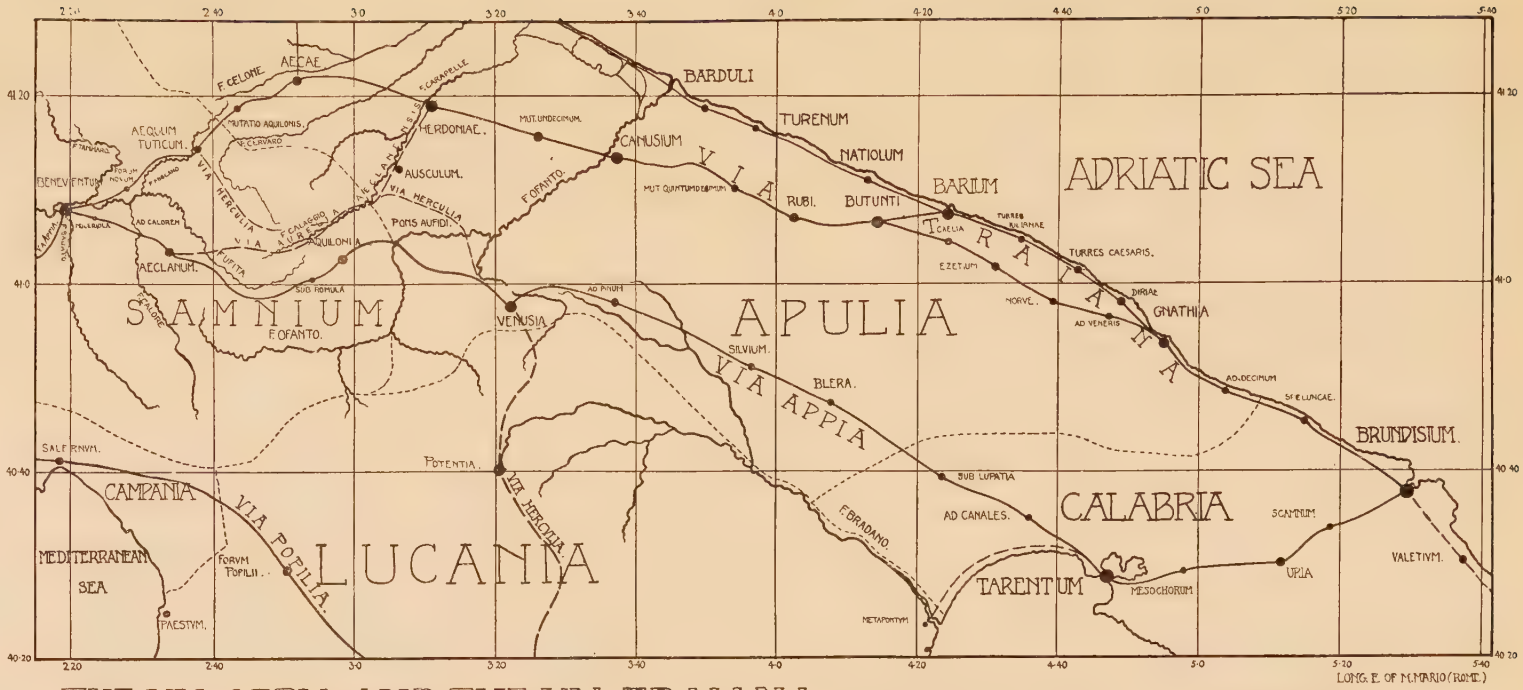
Septimius Severus and Caracalla in 210 A.D. According to the text of the inscription the road was thoroughly repaired and supported by embankments (*moles*) in certain places :—

lABENTEM·VIAM·|ampl|ISSIMIS·OPERIB|us·s|VSCEPERVNT·OBie
c|TISQVE·MOLIB|us su|A·PECVNIA·MV|NIERVNT.[1]

No definite repairs are ascribed to Constantine, but we possess three milestones set up during his reign. One (*C.I.L.* ix. 6006) was found near Buonalbergo but was utilised later by Theodosius Arcadius and Honorius (*C.I.L.* ix. 6007). The two remaining stones can both be dated with accuracy, though from the ambiguity of their provenance it is uncertain whether they are to be ascribed to the Via Traiana or to the coast road from Sipontum which met the Via Traiana at Barium. The former, from Cannae (*C.I.L.* ix. 6028), is to be ascribed to the year 313 A.D. ; the second, existing at Trani (*C.I.L.* ix. 6038), was erected in 314 A.D. The milestone (*C.I.L.* ix. 6043) existing near Corato was utilised by the Emperor Julian (355–363 A.D.) ; it was one of the original Trajanic milestones. There remain for brief consideration five milestones of Theodosius Arcadius and Honorius and one of Jovius Licinius. None of them bears any date or any indication of mileage. The former, cut between 384 and 394 A.D., are all of very similar pattern, though they differ in detail. Two of the inscriptions (*C.I.L.* ix. 6001, 6014) are engraved upon Trajanic milestones at Benevento and S. Eleuterio ; they are both of the same type. Another (*C.I.L.* ix. 6007) is engraved upon a milestone of Constantine found at Buonalbergo. The last stone of all (*C.I.L.* ix. 6026) was erected by Jovius Licinius about the year 308 A.D.

In the reign of Trajan the Via Traiana appears to have been administered by a curator of Senatorial rank but, afterwards, on the evidence of

[1] We found no traces of these embankments on the probable course of the road below Buonalbergo ; whether the later brickwork at Ponte S. Spirito (see p. 135 *infra*) could be connected with these repairs is quite uncertain. And, indeed, as far as we could judge on the spot, it would be hard to say where these embankments would be employed. The road did not there appear to coast along the slopes of the earth hills (where cuttings would hardly be permanent and embankments or supporting walls a desideratum), but climbed straight up to each summit level and then continued along the top until the next valley. Moreover, traces of Roman reconstruction are extremely rare all along the course of the road.



THE VIA APPIA AND THE VIA TRAIANA. ANCENT ROADS - CERTAIN ——— PROBABLE — — — BOUNDARIES ----------

SCALE 1:1.500.000. ROMAN MILES KILOMETRES

a Dacian inscription,[1] it has been thought that the Via Traiana and the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis were administered by an equestrian curator. It is difficult to see the reason for this change in the rank of the curator, but perhaps the Via Traiana was administered by an *eques* because, although it was an important road, it did not begin from Rome and its mileage was reckoned from Beneventum, not from Rome. Of its curators[2] only three are known to us. The first, Q. Roscius Falco, who had distinguished himself in Asia Minor and Judaea, was curator in 110 A.D. The second of whom we have knowledge was Q. Axius Aelianus, who administered the *res privata* in Mauretania Caesariensis under Alexander Severus. He was an *eques* and his tenure of the *cura viae Traianae* may have been exceptional.[3] Of the last we know little beyond the fact that his name was Maxim(us) ; he was ' curator viarum Traianae et Aureliae (Aeclanensis) ' and a patronus of the colony of Aeclanum.

B.—THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE VIA TRAIANA.

(1) *From Beneventum to Herdoniae.*[4]

The ancient Itineraries[5] record the following stations and distances upon the Via Traiana from Beneventum to Herdoniae :—

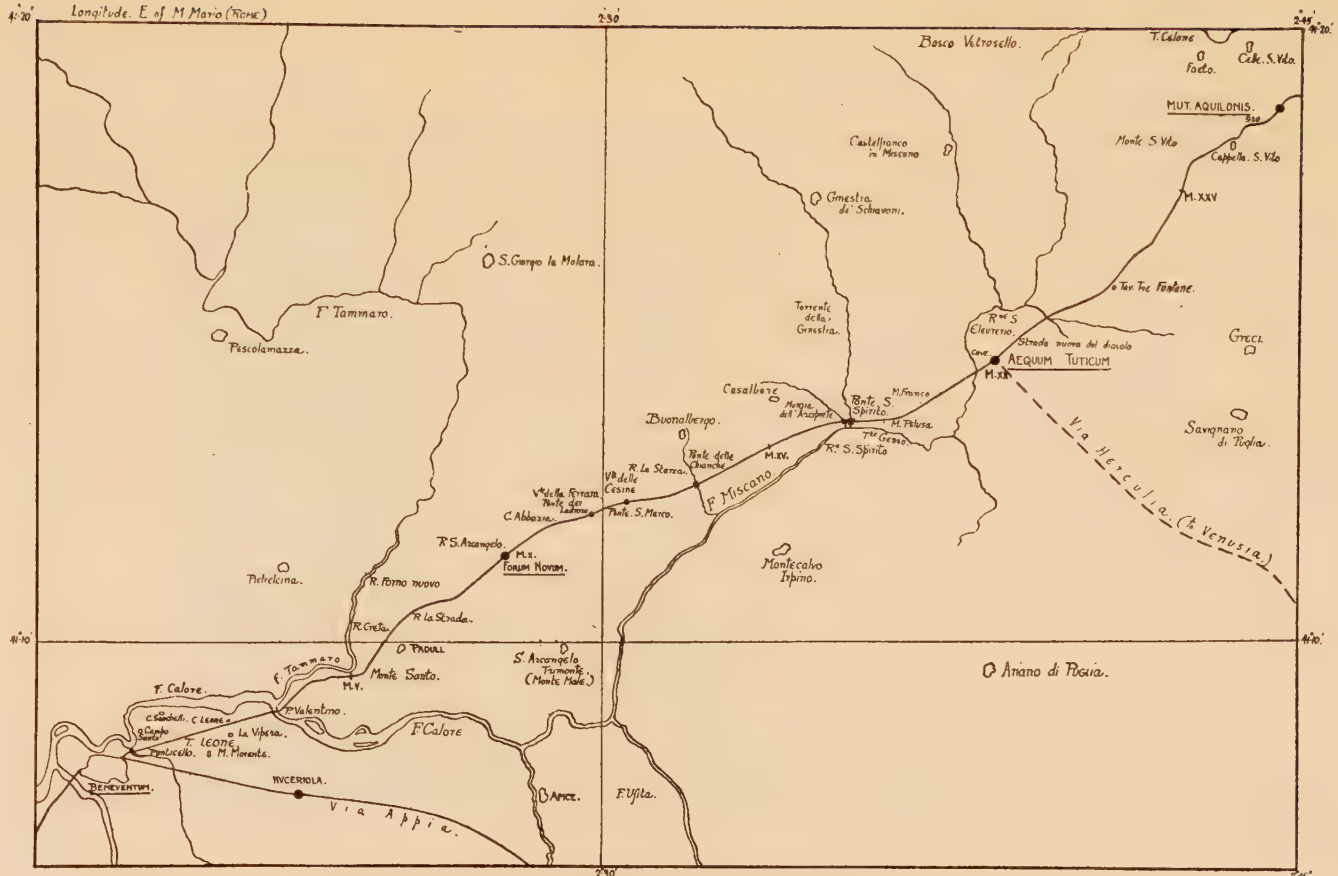
[1] *C.I.L.* iii. 1456.

[2] The names of the curators of the Roman roads under the Empire have all been collected by Cantarelli, *Bull. Arch. Comm.* 1891, p. 90 *et seq.*

[3] Cf. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 208, note 1. After the time of Claudius equestrian curators are met with only rarely and they are exclusively concerned with *viae minores* ; their position corresponded to that of the *procuratores* but it was exceptional for them to be designated as *procuratores*. Cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 1610. The title, however, of *procurator* is probably genuine in the inscription mentioning Q. Axius Aelianus *C.I.L.* iii. 1456. CVRATOR AD POPVL(VM) VI[ar(um)] TRAIANAE ET AVRELIAE (et) AECLANENSIS. It is certain, Hirschfeld thinks, that here we are not to think of an equestrian curator of the Via Traiana, but that the words ' ad populum ' are to be referred to the roads near the large military highways.

[4] The Italian Staff Maps (published by the Instituto Geografico Militare) on the scale of 1 : 50,000 were used as detail maps and the Touring Club Italiano Maps as general maps. All names mentioned in the topographical description of the Via Traiana are referred in footnotes to the particular sheet of the Staff Map on which they are to be found. Of the five maps accompanying the article one (p. 119) is a general map (scale 1: 1,500,000) embracing the whole of the Via Traiana and the Via Appia (from Beneventum onwards). The remaining four are detail maps showing all the topographical names mentioned in the text ; they divide the road into four sections, Beneventum to the Mutatio Aquilonis, the Mutatio Aquilonis to Herdoniae, Herdoniae to Barium and Barium to Brundisium.

[5] *C.I.L.* ix. pp. 26, 592–598.



THE VIA TRAIANA. BENEVENTVM TO MVT. AQVILONIS.

ROMAN MILES. 1 2 3 4 5

KILOMETRES. 1 2 3 4 5

REDUCED FROM STAFF MAP. SHEETS OF BENEVENTO, S. GIORGIO LA MOLARA, MONTECALVO IRPINO, ARIANO DI PUGLIA.

Itin. Anton.	*Itin. Hieros.*	*Tab. Peut.*	*Geog. Ravennae.*	*Modern Site.*	*Estimated distance.*
Benevento	civ. Benevento	BENEBENTO	Beneventum	Benevento	
	X	X			
XXI	mut. vicus Forno novo	Foro novo	Foro novo	R.e S. Arcangelo	9·5 miles
	XII	XII			
Equus Tuticus	mans. ad Equum Magnum	Aequo Tutico	Egotaticon	S. Eleuterio	11·5 miles
	VIII				
XVIII	mut. Aquilonis	XVIII		N. of Capella S. Vito	8 miles
	X				
Aecas	civ. Aecas	AECAS	Ecas	Troia	10 miles
XVIIII	XVIII	ad pirum		near Mass. Pozzarsogno	7 miles
Erdonias	civ. Serdonis	Erdonia	Erdonias	Ordona	12 miles
(58 miles)	(58 miles)	?			(58 miles)

Thus the indications of the *Itin. Anton.* and the *Itin. Hieros.* are entirely accurate. Here, as elsewhere, the *Tab. Peut.* is obscure in places. The chief difficulties are briefly considered on pp. 147–8 *infra*.

FIG 3.—BENEVENTUM FROM THE HILL KNOWN AS TENUTA LEONE.

After leaving the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum the Via Traiana descended along what is now the modern highroad to the Ponticello. In the vicinity of the Arch the Via Appia of the period after Hadrian would

diverge sharply to the right, while, if the theory of Signor Meomartini is correct, the Via Appia of the Republic crossed the Ponticello along with the road[1] which later became the Via Traiana, but immediately afterwards struck east towards the site of the Masseria Morante,[2] where pavement was accidentally unearthed about twenty-five years ago. According to Sig. Meomartini,[3] the Via Traiana, after crossing the Ponticello, ran first northwards to the modern Campo Santo and then eastwards along the northern slopes of the hill known as Tenuta Leone towards the Calore (Fig. 3). From above the Casino Sanchelli[4] he would take it parallel with the Calore (Fig. 4) till it reached the modern road directly to the

FIG. 4.—VIEW OF THE CALORE LOOKING WEST.

north of the Masseria La Vipera,[5] and then straight to the Ponte Valentino where it crosses the Calore. Traces of this road had, we were told, been found on the hillside north of La Vipera together with tombs and inscribed (?) stones and coins. We could see the track in the corn to the north of the modern road; and, close to the Ponte Valentino, it

[1] Although this road, described by Strabo (*loc. cit.*), is designated by modern writers as the Via Egnazia, there is no classical authority whatever to justify the use of this word.

[2] Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Benevento, 173, 2.

[3] See map attached to Meomartini, *Del cammino della via Appia*, 1907.

[4] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Benevento, 173, 2.

[5] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Benevento, 173, 2.

came into the line of the latter. Here, however, it is important to notice that it is a purely mediaeval road, paved with small stones, and it does not run straight for the Ponte Valentino. It is improbable that the Via Traiana went round the western and northern slopes of the Tenuta Leone ;[1] we should rather be inclined to say that it advanced straight over the hill top, approximately as the road runs at present as far as the Casale Leone. Here we saw fragments of columns of white marble granite and limestone, and we were told that they had been found in excavation among the remains of ancient buildings. From the Casale the road would then have descended straight and steeply to the Ponte Valentino[2] (Fig. 5).

This is certainly of Roman origin ; the supporting walls on the left bank both up and downstream and that downstream on the right bank are built of large rough blocks of limestone some 0·75 metres high, with bossed faces, not absolutely rectangular, with the angle of one block sometimes let into the upper surface of the one below. Behind is a second line of blocks, and then earth. These walls are certainly Roman[3] work *in situ* ; and the pier nearest the south-west bank is also of Roman construction, but the courses are small. The central piers are however of mediaeval stonework and the arches of mediaeval brickwork. It is 6·36 metres wide over all at the top. The parapets are modern and the ancient bridge was about 76 metres long between the two embankment walls, one on each bank. A mediaeval church of S. Valentino,[4] now utterly destroyed, has bequeathed its name to the bridge.

After the Ponte Valentino (Fig. 5) the track, which no doubt follows the line of the ancient road, advances in a slight ascent along the left bank of the Tammaro. At the confluence of the Tammaro and the Calore (Fig. 6) there is a fine view up the valleys of both rivers. Away to the right across the ploughed land is seen the tiny hamlet of Apice, clinging to its rocky summit ; in front are the graceful windings of the Tammaro, flanked by the richly wooded M. Santo on the right with the village of

[1] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Benevento, 173, 2.

[2] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Benevento, 173, 2.

[3] Meomartini, *Monumenti di Benevento*, p. 257, wrongly calls the Ponte Valentino mediaeval and sees no Roman remains in the bridge.

[4] Meomartini (*op. cit.* and *loc. cit. supra*) quotes ' alia via (clearly the Via Traiana) que vadit ad S. Valentinum ' nel diploma del principe Arechi di riconferma delle concessioni precedenti al Monastero di Santa Sofia (di Benevento).

Paduli rising beyond. Our track, still ascending, crosses the ravine just to the west of Paduli and climbs up parallel with the Tammaro until

FIG. 5.—PONTE VALENTINO.

it reaches a temporary summit level (281 metres) in the Rne. Creta.[1] Beyond a few scattered paving stones we saw no traces of antiquity. The

FIG. 6.—PADULI AND THE VALLEY OF THE TAMMARO.

old track is quite plain in the valley which we reach a little further on; its name, Regione la Strada, clearly betrays its own origin.

[1] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; S. Giorgio la Molara, 175, 1.

We still continue our ascent, past the modern road which diverges to Paduli on our right, until we reach the Rne. S. Arcangelo,[1] where the track becomes a pleasant lane. Much débris of brickwork is to be seen in the fields on both sides of the lane, and also on the path itself. A draped female statue (Fig. 7), about three feet high in its present state of mutilation, stands in the long grass and brushwood at the side of the lane. It is of limestone, but lacks both head and legs ; and probably comes from some tomb, to judge from its style.

Here no doubt we must place the site of Forum Novum, 10 miles distant from Beneventum according to the Itineraries. It is curious

FIG. 7.—DRAPED FEMALE TORSO AT FORUM NOVUM.

that the name Forno nuovo, which is probably a corruption of it, was transferred a mile or two further east close to the near bank of the Tammaro. Topographers[2] have not been conspicuously successful in locating

[1] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000. S. Giorgio la Molara, 173, 1, 1909.

[2] Pratilli, *La via Appia*, Naples, 1745, p. 506, says that between Paduli, Buonalbergo, Castelfranco and Crevacuore traces are seen of an ancient paved road leading to Troia. This is the Via Traiana. But the author erroneously regards it as another road and makes the Via Traiana diverge from the Via Appia at Aeclanum.

Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 122) and Nissen (*op. cit.* p. 816) both place Forum Novum at Monte Male. Kiepert's map (*C.I.L.* ix. Tab. ii.) wrongly represents the Via Traiana (printed Via Appia) as passing *south* of Paduli, whereas it really goes north.

this *mutatio*; some have placed it upon S. Arcangelo Trimonte (formerly Monte Male), while the modern region of Forno Nuovo is wrongly regarded by Meomartini[1] as occupying the site of the ancient Forum Novum. A little to the north of the contrada Forno Nuovo an ancient tombstone[2] was discovered in 1899, but we have no record of any further attempts to excavate in the neighbourhood.

FIG. 8.—CORNICE BLOCK FROM FORUM NOVUM.

The house just beyond on the right, above the 's' in Rne. S. Arcangelo (Staff Map) contains two inscriptions[3]:—

(1)

TVNNIA
LVCINIS
SIT

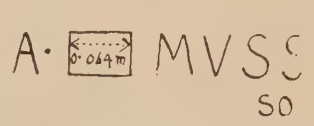
[1] *Op cit.* p. 258.

[2] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1899, p. 149. The dedication is to one M. Rutilius Macedo from his wife Licinia Marcella. He had been curator at Puteoli and ii. vir at Beneventum. The inscription is probably later than the construction of the Via Traiana. Bones, fragments of bricks and pottery were found in the vicinity.

[3] At the Masseria to the north-west is a finely sculptured cornice block with interesting decoration (Fig. 8) and a tombstone of the common 'baulo' type (in shape like a portmanteau, with a semicircular top) bearing the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 1440. At a house further north-west is the notable inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 6005 (Fig. 1) which alone records the construction of the bridges along the Via Traiana. It is built into the wall of the farm-house.

This is on a limestone cippus 0·28 metre long by 0·57 high. The letters are 5 centimetres high; the lettering is rough and probably bad second-century work. The meaning of the three words is very uncertain. 'Tunnia,' of which we have no other instance, is certainly a gentilicium, while 'Lucinis,' of which there are frequent examples in the form Lycnis, may possibly be so as well. 'Sit' must then be intended for 'hic sita est.'

(2) A large block of limestone, broken away at the left-hand lower corner, bears the following inscription :—



The stone is 0·59 metre high by 0·76 metre long; the letters in the top line are 0·175 metre high, in the lower line, 0·095 metre. The letters

FIG. 9.—PONTE DEI LADRONI.

are of the Republican or early Imperial period, and consequently testify to the presence of somebody there before the construction of the Via Traiana. Probably the name Forum Novum dates from the construction of the road, not from an earlier period. Though the Via Traiana certainly tended to open up and develop the country through which it passed, we must remember that it followed the line of a previously existing road.

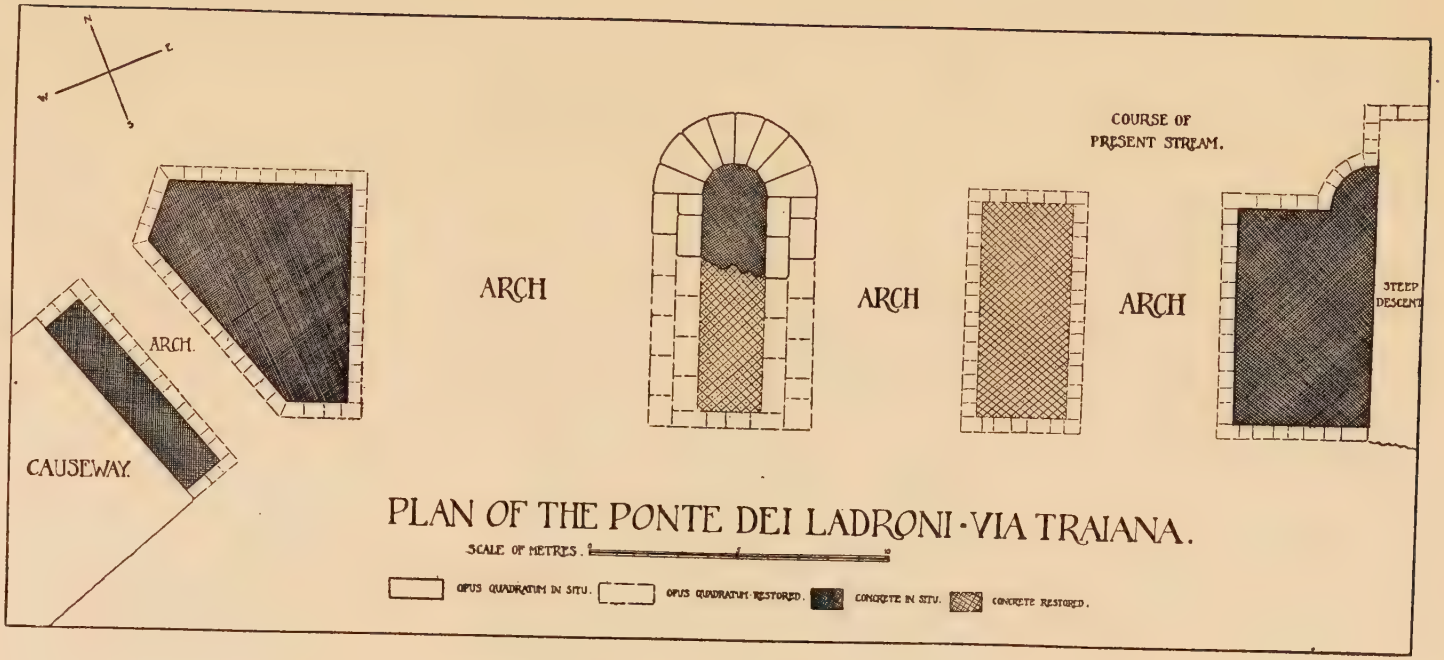

N
E
W
S
ARCH.
CAUSEWAY.
ARCH
ARCH
ARCH
COURSE OF
PRESENT STREAM.
STEEP
DESCENT
PLAN OF THE PONTE DEI LADRONI · VIA TRAIANA.
SCALE OF METRES.
OPUS QUADRATUM IN SITU.
OPUS QUADRATUM RESTORED.
CONCRETE IN SITU.
CONCRETE RESTORED.

FIG. 10.

As the track advances in an E.N.E. direction, we cross a small stream in the bed of which paving stones are lying loose. The summit level is then reached and the old road begins to descend, N.E. by E., to the stream just beyond the Casa Abbazia, on both banks of which are slight concrete remains of an ancient culvert. In the valley beyond the next ridge, into which the causeway, some ten metres wide, is clearly marked in its descent (there are paving stones here and there), are the remains of the Ponte dei Ladroni (Fig. 9). Before reaching the bridge, the road turned sharply to the north-east; the causeway by which it approached the bridge would be some forty metres long and ten metres wide. The first pier, 1·5 metre thick, is high enough to make it possible that another arch originally stood in front of it. The span of the first arch of which we can be certain is three metres (exclusive of facing), and then comes a massive pier at another sharp turn, the direction of the road changing to E.S.E. The width of the pier is 7·1 metres, but the brick and *opus quadratum* facing was gone; by analogy with the other bridges of the Via Traiana of which we have remains, the total width must be not more than eight metres. The main part of the bridge is now reached. It seems to have consisted of two main arches, with spans of ten and fourteen metres respectively; but possibly there may have also been a third arch. The intermediate pier is 3·45 metres thick, and the pointed end upstream is preserved. The construction is of concrete faced with *opus quadratum* below and brickwork above; the *opus quadratum* blocks are of limestone, 0·65 metre in thickness, and the blocks were held together by metal clamps, at any rate in the pier in the stream (see Plan, Fig. 10). The ascent from the Vallone della Ferrara, which was crossed by the Ponte dei Ladroni, is extremely steep. At the top of the hill are some loose bricks, belonging to some building, but no paving stones. From this a precipitous descent leads to a smaller but deeper valley, the Valle delle Cesine, in which are to be seen the scanty remains of a bridge known as the Ponte S. Marco[1] (Fig. 11). There is a mass of concrete on the right bank of the stream, and two blocks of *opus quadratum* and a little concrete on the left; and, in the field above the stream on this side, a small portion of the causeway. The direction in crossing the stream was E.S.E., but the embankment

[1] The Ponte S. Marco dir(uto) is marked on the Staff Map (1 : 50,000; Montecalvo Irpino, 174, 4), but the position given to it is quite a kilometre too far downstream.

is a little to the north ; so there must have been a slight skew in crossing and a right angle turn just after the bridge.

Then followed a series of very steep ascents, each ridge to be encountered being higher than the last. The whole of this stretch from Forum Novum is extremely difficult, and, though it is hard to see why Trajan's engineers selected this course, the road does not shirk obstacles, and attacks hill and vale alike with surprising directness. Nor, though cuttings would have been made through loose soil, are there traces of them. Probably it would be difficult to construct embankments. At the top of the ridge

FIG. 11.—SITE OF THE PONTE S. MARCO.

is a small square white house with two or three cypresses by it, which may serve as a mark for anyone desirous of finding the bridge again. The ascent brings us up to a level cultivated region known as *La Starza* (the 'jay,' a not uncommon local name hereabouts), and a house there is full of paving stones from the road, which kept a little to the south of the modern path, going E. and W., but has now been destroyed. After crossing this level, there is a precipitous descent N.E., at the bottom of which is a little pavement of white limestone blocks. On the way down, a charming view presents itself to the traveller. On the right,

across the valley of the Miscano, rises a steep escarpment, with the village of Montecalvo Irpino upon its highest point. Below lies a richly wooded valley, shaded with poplars, a cultivated slope rising beyond. To the left, just appearing through the trees, is the village of Buonalbergo, in surroundings no less beautiful than its rival upon the crags opposite.

The Torrente di Buonalbergo rushes down the valley into which we now descend, and which we cross by the Ponte delle Chianche[1] (Figs. 12, 13). The bridge is situated just at the junction of two streams, and it would be hard to imagine a more delightful situation for this imposing ruin. The bridge had six arches; the base of the central pier is in *opus quadratum* of limestone, and the blocks were held together by rectangular metal clamps. The whole of the rest of the bridge is in brick-faced concrete. The brickwork is excellent, being a fine specimen of brickwork of the time of Trajan, as it invariably is in the bridges of this road. The arches have double rings of two-foot tiles (bipedales), and the intrados of the arches is tiled also. The central arch has lost the inner one of its rings (as Meomartini explains, they have been removed by peasants to bake bread upon), but is otherwise complete. The next two on the right bank are well preserved, and then there is the beginning of a third, after which comes the bridge head with two buttresses. On the left bank there are two arches which are less well preserved and have been patched up, and then an embankment which continues for some forty metres. The embankment wall is 0·90 metre thick, and on the south side there are also five or six brick buttresses 2·99 metres apart, 1·49 metre high, and 1·20 metre thick. The pavement is preserved on the top of the bridge, which is 7·20 metres wide (24 Roman feet), and apparently there were no parapets at all. There is a considerable rise in the centre of the bridge; the length of the bridge over all is about 120 metres.[2]

[1] Cf. Meomartini, *I monumenti di Benevento*, p. 303.

[2] Here was found *C.I.L.* ix. 6010 (misprinted 6011) referring to extensive repairs of the Via Traiana carried out by Septimius Severus and Caracalla in 210 A.D. On a tile of the Ponte delle Chianche there was seen the inscription PONV·TRA (*C.I.L.* ix. 6011, 6078, 2).

One of the tiles still *in situ* bears the stamp

The tiles are 0.045 to 0.05 metre thick. A *tegula mammata* (with the *mammae* knocked off) is seen on one place. The discovery of the inscription and of the tile are due to Dressel. Mommsen conjectures that the meaning is *pont(es) v(iae) Tra(ianae)*. Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. p. 6, under vii.

FIG. 12. - PONTE DELLE CHIANCHE.

FIG. 13.—ARCH OF THE PONTE DELLE CHIANCHE.
(From a photograph by Dr. Esther van Deman.)

Going east, the pavement is soon lost, though at first it can be traced in a small path. The road must have kept about E.N.E. along the slopes between Buonalbergo and the railway. The soil is earthy, the streams were mere rivulets, and there were no traces of bridges or pavement to be seen or heard of for the next three miles, until shortly after crossing the modern road from Montecalvo Station to the village of Casalbore a small gorge is reached, (about 300 metres south of the letter 't' in *Murgia dell' Arciprete* of the Staff Map).

Here are further brick and concrete masses from a small, much-ruined bridge; one brick face *in situ* runs N. by E., and may give the direction of the bridge, which would have run at right angles to it, *i.e.*, E. by S. About 200 metres farther east we reach the main stream, the *Torrente*[1] *della Ginestra* in the Regione di S. Spirito. Here is another bridge mentioned by Meomartini[2] and visible from the railway. It is known as the Ponte di S. Spirito (Fig. 14). The bridge must have been a large one, but comparatively little of it is preserved. It runs E. by N. Nothing is left on the right bank of the stream; in the stream itself is a mass of concrete (not *in situ*), and on the left bank there is a pier of concrete 4·2 metres thick, the base of which is faced with large *opus quadratum*[3] one metre thick and the upper part with brickwork. The arches have a double ring of tiles and the intrados is tiled also, as in the Ponte delle Chianche. There are bonding courses in the pier. The base of the bridge is 6·8 metres wide; the brickwork overhangs 0·2 metre more on the north side. There are also some walls on the south side of the pier, partly in *opus quadratum* of contemporary construction, and partly in later brickwork, intended for the regulation of the stream. It looks as though this passed over a bed of *opus quadratum* blocks seven metres wide. The reason of these walls is that the bridge is placed just above the junction of the Torrente degli Schiavoni with the main stream, the Miscano (here for a short distance called the Torrente Gesso) which might have given trouble.

To the north of the east end of the bridge is a concrete well about six metres long and one thick running N.N.E.; it is probably Roman, but, further on, on the same side is a modern ruin. The road now ascended,

[1] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Montecalvo Irpino, 174, 4.

[2] *I Monumenti di Benevento*, p. 303.

[3] The courses are well over two Roman feet high (0·62, 0·68, 0·71 m. respectively), a fact which also points to the period of Trajan. No traces indeed of earlier construction have been found by us along the course of the road.

following the course of the tratturo towards the Masseria Pelusa ; it probably passed just north of it and ran more or less straight across the small valleys which the tratturo avoids and near the Masseria Franco. The Map of the Touring Club Italiano (Benevento Sheet) marks a bridge, the Ponte del Diavolo, over the next large stream, the Miscano itself ; but it is not indicated on the Staff Map, and notwithstanding a careful search we were unable to find it, so that it seems to be non-existent. How and where the Via Traiana did cross is uncertain ; probably to the south

FIG. 14.—PONTE S. SPIRITO.

of the Cave di S. Eleuterio, some abandoned quarries, by a small valley which ascends here to the higher ground. To the north of the quarries is the Masseria di S. Eleuterio, in the midst of undulating plough land and pasture, looking down upon the beautiful valley between Casalbore, Buonalbergo and Montecalvo Irpino. To the north of the farmhouse are some scattered tiles in a field and two large blocks of limestone, one with a plinth moulding. Perhaps both were parts of a large base ; one was said to bear an inscription, but this was probably an error. Here the road (known locally as the Strada Nuova del Diavolo !) is said to have passed

and here we must place the site of Aequum Tuticum, the second station 20 miles from Beneventum.

It is said[1] to have been a foundation of Diomedes, while its name carries us back to an Oscan past. Of its history we know next to nothing. It very probably came into the possession of the Romans early in the third century B.C. It had no urban constitution and was merely a *vicus*[2] under the neighbouring and powerful Beneventum. Such importance as it possessed was due to its position as a road centre.[3]

There the Via Traiana was joined by the Via Herculia from Lucania and Venusia, while it is supposed that another road led northwards from it to Luceria and the Adriatic and that Aeclanum on the Via Appia was joined to Aequum Tuticum by the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis.[4] Very great difficulties are attendant upon its location. The Itineraries alone and Cicero (*ad Att.* vi. 1, 1) mention it as a road-station. Cluver put it at Ariano di Puglia ; Holste at Troia. Pratilli located it at *Terra Strutta*[5] near the wood of Crevacuore, some distance to the north-east of its real site. D'Anville,[6] more correctly, placed it at Castelfranco in Miscano, a few kilometres to the north. In 1794 Tommaso Vitale,[7] following the distances given by the ancient Itineraries, located Aequum Tuticum at S. Eleuterio, as Mommsen says, 'quinto fere lapide ab Ariano septemtrionem versus, quinto item a Casalbore eunti ad pagum Greci.' This identification has been accepted by all later authorities. The words 'Aequum Tuticum' are probably the Latinised forms of an Oscan placename 'aipum tuvticum,' or 'lofty rock,' which was brought down from the mountains of central Italy by the Hirpini when they migrated to the site of the later Beneventum. With regard to the origin of the name S. Eleuterio[8] it is held that in the time of Diocletian the bishop of Aequum Tuticum was martyred 'apud Miscanum'—the Torrente Miscano, which

[1] Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 122 ; Hülsen in *Pauly-Wissowa* '*R. E.*' i. 605, and Supplement and Nissen. *op. cit.* ii. p. 816 give all available information concerning it.

[2] *C.I.L.* ix. 1418, 1419.

[3] Mommsen says (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 592), 'licet omni tempore vici exigui condicionem non egressum rei viariae Italiae inferioris tanquam cardo fuit, quadrivium scilicet viarum primariarum, alterius hinc Romam ducentis per Appiam, inde Brundisium per Traianam, alterius autem hinc pergentis Luceriam et ad mare superum, inde Venusiam et ad fretum Siculum.'

[4] Grasso, *Studi*, vol. i. p. 39–57. It rather joined Aeclanum and Herdoniae.

[5] Pratilli, *op. cit.* p. 515. Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Bovino, 174, 1. N.W. corner.

[6] *Analyse géografique de l'Italie.* Paris 1744, p. 218.

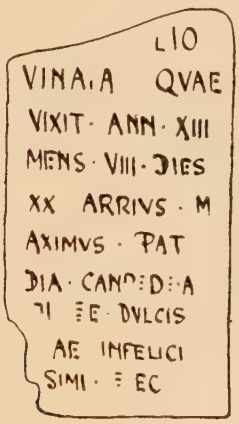
[7] *Storia della regia citta di Ariano.* Rome, 1794, p. 5.

[8] Grasso, *Studi*, vol. i. pp. 79–147.

now flows south of the Masseria S. Eleuterio—and canonized as S. Eleuterio or S. Liberatore. A chapel was erected to his memory at Aequum Tuticum, which name was subsequently changed to S. Eleuterio. Ariano di Puglia, once regarded as the site of Aequum Tuticum, is of mediaeval origin, and, as many of the inscriptions of Aequum Tuticum were found at Ariano, it is perhaps not too much to say that the rising Ariano was enriched from its fallen neighbour.

There are said to be ruins here under the corn, but as we passed by in the late spring the thick growth prevented us from seeing them. At the Masseria S. Eleuterio we saw three inscriptions. The first was *C.I.L.* ix. 1429 (of the time of Hadrian), but the remaining two appear to be unpublished. Both are sepulchral and belong to tombstones of the usual 'baulo' type.

The first is :—



The first D is B, D, or R; the second D may be an E. The mother's name is somewhere in this.

Dimensions of whole :—0·56 by 0·59 metre; of inscribed surface—0·45 × 0·315 metre. Height of letters, 0·03 metre.

The second bore the inscription :—

ario
ar

Dimensions : 0·17 × 0·28 metre. Height of letters, 0·04 metre.

Both these inscriptions seem later than the construction of the Via Traiana.

From S. Eleuterio the road went on, no doubt, in a north-easterly[1] direction, but cultivation prevented our following it more closely; doubtless there are no traces of it to be seen. It probably coincided with the line of the *tratturo* from the Taverna Tre Fontane northwards and thence, ascending considerably, ran almost due north. There is a short cut avoiding the modern road from the Tre Sportelli (the boundary of the three provinces of Benevento, Campobasso, and Foggia) to the contrada S. Vito. From this point a track runs E.N.E. with mediaeval paving about ten metres wide to the Masseria S. Vito.[2]

At the Masseria we recopied an inscription,[3] embedded in the wall of the chapel to the right of the fountain :—

Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Antonino
Pio. Fel. Aug. Parth. Max. Brit.
Max. PONTIFICi MAx
tr P XVI IMP · II · COS · IIii (A.D. 213)
pROCOS PATRI PATRIAe
M AVRELIVS NIGRINVS · e
VOCATVS AVG N IMPOSitus
ORDINIBVS IN LEG II TRA de
VOTVS NVMINI EIVS EVNdem
LVCVM AQVILONENSEM INco
LVIT ET CONSACRAVIT · III · IDVS DEc
AVRELIO ANTONINO PIO FELICI AVG IIII COS

It confirms Grasso and Kiepert (*C.I.L.* ix. Tab. ii.) in their identification of the ancient river Aquilo with the modern Celone, which rises in the Bosco Vetrosello west of Celle S. Vito and flows in a north-easterly

[1] Meomartini (*I monumenti e le opere d'arte di Benevento*, 1889, p. 261) takes the road too much to the west after leaving Aequum Tuticum and so loses what is certainly the exact course. It may have passed, according to him, through Vescellium to the west of Castelfranco in Miscano, between this and Rosetto, where there is now the Bosco Vetrosello. He thinks that the *Itin. Anton.* confused Vescellium with the Mutatio Aquilonis. Nissen (*Ital. Land.* ii. p. 843) takes the road from Aequum Tuticum to Mutatio Aquilonis (near Cappella S. Vito) without fixing any intermediate points.

[2] The Masseria S. Vito is 971 metres above the sea, the highest point of the Via Traiana. Just before reaching it a narrow defile is passed from which magnificent and comprehensive views are obtained both ways. To the N.E. the mountains slope down to the Apulian plain, with Garganus looming on the sky line, to the S.W. and S.E. a fine panorama of mountain and valley is seen from M. Vulture to M. Taburno.

[3] G. de Petra, *Rendiconti del R. Accademia di Napoli*, xii. (1898) p. 111 *seq.*; cf. Grasso, vol. iii. p. 9, note 3. Hülsen in *Pauly-Wissowa*, '*R. E.*' Supplementum to article 'Aquilonis mutatio,' p. 114. An inscription of 1504 over the fountain speaks of it as the Fons Aquilonensis, so that the inscription was then already known.

direction past Troia, till it meets the Candelaro which empties into the Lago Salso south of Manfredonia.

The localisation of the *mutatio Aquilonis* has been complicated by the existence of two other places called *Aquilonia* with which the *mutatio Aquilonis* has very naturally been confused. Mommsen[1] was induced to admit the existence of a third Aquilonia, different from that in Samnium and from that in the territory of the Hirpini, but his idea of an

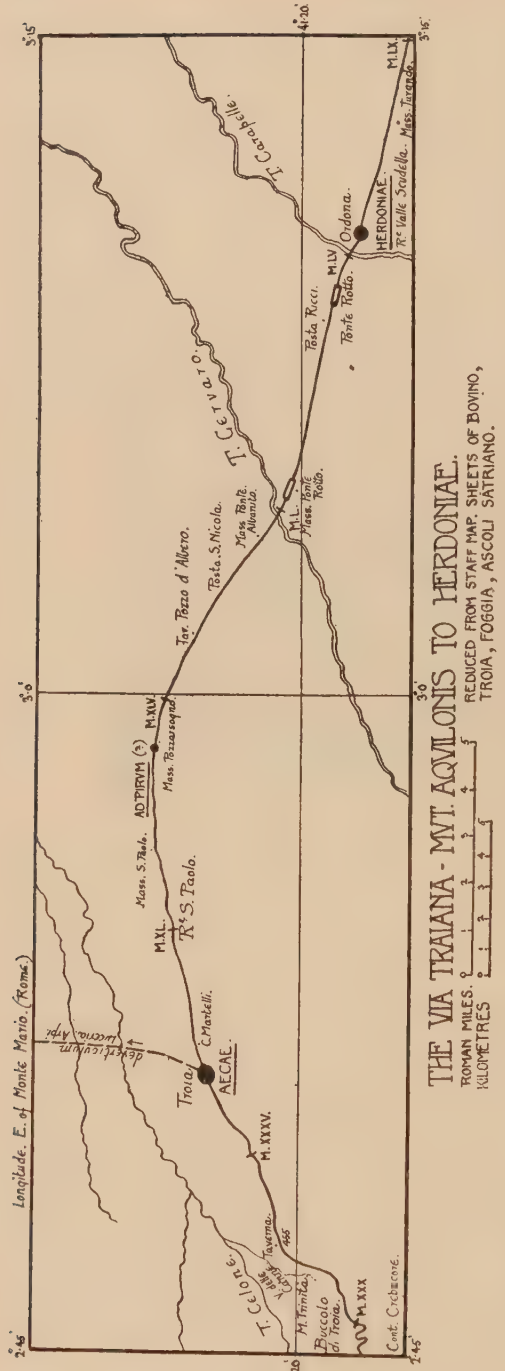
FIG. 15.—VIEW N.E. FROM THE BUCCOLO DI TROIA.

'Aquiloniae' or 'Aquilonae' on the Via Traiana between Aequum Tuticum and Aecae was due to confusion.

The expression *mutatio Aquilonis*[2] must mean 'the post station near

[1] *C.I.L.* ix. p. 87, mutatio Aquilonis . . . . diversa ab Aquilonia hodie Lacedogna sub Vibino fuerit necesse est.

[2] Cluver does not mention the *mutatio Aquilonis* at all. Pratilli (*op. cit.* p. 503) jumps from Samnium to the Hirpini and from the Hirpini to Apulia. He entirely confuses the Aquilonia in Samnium, the Aquilonia in Hirpinis, and the *mutatio Aquilonis*. Corcia (*Storia delle due Sicilie*, Napoli, vol. ii. p. 531) would place the *mutatio Aquilonis* at the Buccolo di Troia and regard *Aquilonis* as coming from *aquilo*, the north wind. He writes, 'ove a forza di scalpello si vede aperto il monte per tracciarvi la strada e così gagliardi vi spirano i venti nella stagione invernale, che bene spesso atterrati vi rimanevano i viandanti coi carichi e le vetture, circostanza la quale ci spiega la ragione onde fu così detta dagli antichi.' Wesseling, too (*Ancient Itineraries*, p. 610), says, 'diceres ab Aquilone vento mutationi nomen haerere, nisi Apuliae proprii nominis ventus Atabulus infestior fuisset.' No ancient author speaks of the Aquilo, but there is a mediaeval document, published first by Ughelli (*It. sacra*, vol. i. epis. Troia) and then by Vitale (*Storia di Ariano*, Rome, 1794, doc. in Appendix) in which mention is made of this Aquilo in connexion with the boundaries of the territory of Troia. '. . . et rediens ad sinistram usque ad fluvium Aquilonis descendit usque ad transitum Colonnelli.'



THE VIA TRAIANA - MYT. AQVILONIS TO HERDONIAE.
ROMAN MILES. 0 1 2 3 4 5
KILOMETRES 0 1 2 3 4 5
REDUCED FROM STAFF MAP, SHEETS OF BOVINO, TROIA, FOGGIA, ASCOLI SATRIANO.

the Aquilo' and can have no possible connexion with an ancient city of that or similar name.

The abundant fountain at S. Vito is almost the last that is met with along the whole course of the road, as we now enter the arid region of Apulia.[1] There are no traces of ancient buildings visible, nor could we hear of any; and the Chapel of S. Vito is not a building of any interest. About one kilometre, however, to the E.N.E., near point 920[2] there are some bricks lying loose by the road. The country is at first cultivated and easy; there is then a gradual descent down a ridge. There is here mediaeval paving about eight metres wide. We then reach the steep zigzag descent of the Buccolo di Troia[3] (Fig. 15). It presents no traces of ancient pavement or construction (the supporting walls are all modern), nor of the cuttings in the rock of which Nissen speaks.

[1] Horace *Epodes*, iii. 16, siticulosae Apuliae.

[2] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Ariano di Puglia, 174, 3.

[3] Nissen, *Ital. Land.* ii. p. 843. The road crosses the Buccolo di Troia (905 metres) gradually by cuts in the rocks for three miles. On the Apulian side it drops 300 metres sharply in three turns.

(*Storia delle due Sicilie*, ii. p. 531.)

After the zigzags there is a straight descent N.E. by E. through a slight cutting in soft rock, never over three or four metres deep, in which the paving is perhaps mediaeval but well preserved. We may, however, compare the road from Abbasanta to Fordungianus in Sardinia, which is considered to be Roman. It is about eight metres wide, and has a central rib to keep the cobbles in position. The Monte Trinità (588 metres) is passed slightly on the left-hand side. The road then reached a spur which it traversed in a N. direction, and left it by another spur in a N.E. direction. It then went round almost at right angles to avoid the Valle delle Canne, descending to the Celone. Before the Taverna (above point 455, Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Troia, 163, 2) is reached another good piece of similar paving is seen; the causeway is about fourteen metres wide, and the road itself about eight metres. There was a bed of small stones, with a maximum dimension of about 0·32 metre, and cobbling above this on which earth no doubt lay. As we near Troia, there is a fairly steep ascent to the south-east corner of the town, and there the cobbling is only about four metres wide. The position is very strong, as the hill is quite steep and isolated.

Troia[1] (the ancient Aecae) is a comparatively old city, and is first mentioned in connexion with the manoeuvres of Fabius Maximus in the second Punic War. In the time of Septimius Severus its full title was *Colonia Augusta Apula Aecae* (*C.I.L.* ix. 950), and it belonged to the Tribus Papiria. It was linked with Luceria and Sipontum by a *deverticulum*[2] from the Via Traiana, which would perhaps be the original road establishing military communications between Beneventum and

[1] For its history see Hülsen, Pauly-Wissowa, '*R.E.*' vol. i. 443. Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 85. Excavations at Troia are described in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1903, p. 349. Cluver (*Ital. Antiq.* p. 1202) wrongly identified it with Accadia, a mountain village just to the north of S. Agata di Puglia, west of Candela. Holste (*ad Cluver.*, p. 271) corrects him by reference to Cuniferius, a monk of M. Casino, in his life of S. Secundinus, as follows: 'Haec vero civitas, si nominis significationem advertimus, Ecana enim dicta est, antiquissima fuit, cum monumentorum marmoratio, scenarum columnatio, eminentia culminum id designent. Huic vero in reconciliatione Troia nomen imponitur, ut egregii titulus nominis auctoramentum faciat novitati. Putamus ista fidem posse quaerentibus facere, quos sub Troiae nomine appellatio noverit Urbis Ecanae.'

Pratilli (*op. cit.* p. 515 *et seq.*), who describes the course of the Via Traiana in these parts with surprising accuracy—though he does not call it by the name of the Via Traiana—rightly identifies Aecae with Troia. According to him it was only after the eleventh century that Troia was built upon the present site.

[2] *C.I.L.* ix. p. 26. The *Tab. Peut.* gives Aecas-Pretorium Lauerianum Mucerie Apulie (*appingitur domus*)–viiii–Arpos–xxi–Siponto.

Luceria. In the hospital at Troia there is to be seen a milestone of the Via Traiana (*C.I.L.* ix. 6015); according to Mommsen it bore no number, but it is surely possible to see a large I, which was only a part of the number—probably XXXVII.

From Troia the road gradually descended the ridge; at first the modern road coincides with it, but afterwards its line is marked by a track. Just before reaching the C. Martelli,[1] the track diverges to the right from the new highroad from Troia to Foggia. As this track advances across the Rne. S. Paolo, there is a gentle undulation, and then it passes over a col, between the Masseria S. Paolo and the Masseria Pozzarsogno (near the latter we must place the station of Ad Pirum), until it descends to meet, at the Taverna Pozzo d'Albero, the highroad

FIG. 16.—PONTE ROTTO, CERVARO.

from Foggia to Ariano di Puglia, which it crosses at right angles at the seventy-ninth mile. The ruins by the highroad to the N.W. are purely modern. The road goes straight on again past the Porta S. Nicola, to the east of which we saw scattered bricks on the road line. The cobbling is to be seen at intervals, and the width is about eight metres. The road descended with a zigzag just S.W. of the Masseria Ponte Albanito by a small, narrow gully to the broad, flat valley of the Cervaro. The river has changed its course about one kilometre to the west of what it was in Roman days, and can be crossed by wading in a dry spring without difficulty. Very considerable remains of the Roman bridge exist, just

[1] Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Troia, 163, 2.

to the north of the Masseria Ponte Rotto.[1] From the ruins (Figs. 16, 17, and 18), it is clear that it was a structure of more than ordinary size

FIG. 17.—PONTE ROTTO, CERVARO.

and grandeur (see Fig. 19). We must thank Mr. F. C. Richards for this drawing.

It runs E.S.E., and is 320 paces long. It consisted of (i) a causeway

FIG. 18.—CAUSEWAY OF PONTE ROTTO, CERVARO.

some 26 paces long; (ii) the bridge proper, which seems to have been about 180 paces in length and of considerable height: about thirteen

[1] Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Foggia, 164, 3. Pratilli, *op. cit.* p. 517, is singularly correct in his description of the road here.

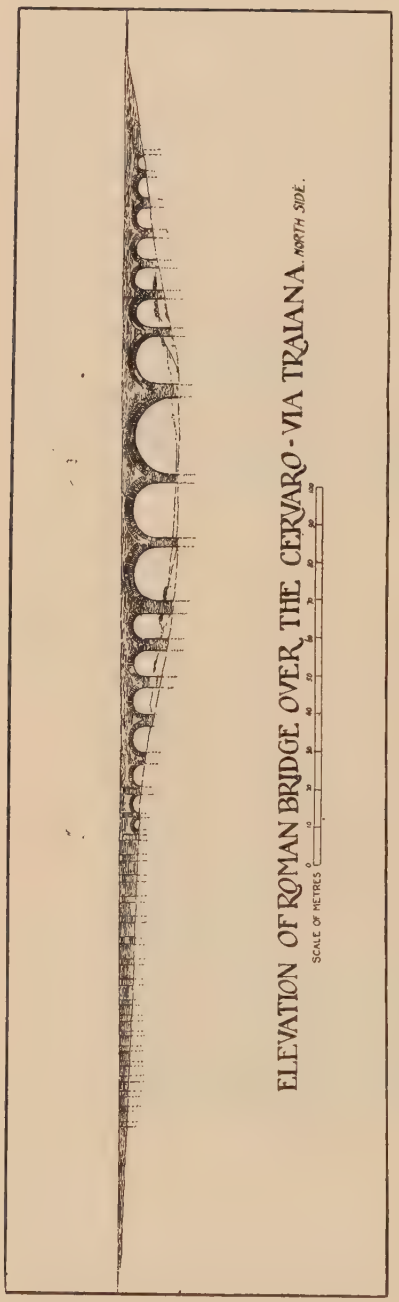


FIG. 19.

piers can be traced, but there were probably more. The main piers seem to have been about three metres thick, and the main arch spans perhaps as much as fifteen metres, though as a rule the span was much less than this; (iii) a causeway at the E.S.E. end, supported by seventeen pairs of buttresses (Fig. 18): these are as a rule 2·70 metres apart, though in some cases the interval is nearly four metres; they project 2·80 metres (the top is sloped off), and they are 1·35 to 1·65 metre in width. The causeway is confined by the wall against which the buttresses rest: this wall is 0·75 metre in thickness and faced with *opus incertum* on the inside. The width of the causeway, as of the bridge itself, is 7·10 metres (24 Roman feet). The construction is of brickfaced concrete faced with irregular pieces of brick 0·21 to 0·26 metre in length and 0·04 in thickness. The horizontal joints are 0·01 metre thick and the vertical joints 0·005. The former course of the river can be clearly seen: it is indeed marked by the track which leads W.N.W. from the Masseria.

The road ascended from the Cervaro valley in an E.S.E. direction, probably winding to gain the ascent to the hill (some twenty metres higher). It then passed over a broad level down, partly cultivated,

upon which no traces of it are to be seen, and, falling gradually in level, descended again immediately to the south of the Porta Ricci.[1] To the E.S.E., again, is another bridge also called Ponte Rotto, and giving its name to a small stream (the Canale di Ponte Rotto) on the map, though it has itself not been marked on the map at all.

It is of precisely similar construction, character, and width to the last bridge ; and here, too, the river, the Carapelle, has changed its course and now runs about one kilometre further east. The total length is considerably greater, nearly 450 metres ; and there must have been another 200 or 300 metres of low embankment at the W.N.W. end,

FIG. 20.—BUTTRESS OF CARAPELLE VIADUCT, ORDONA.

now concealed in the corn. There were about ten arches and piers, occupying a length of about 200 metres ; and at the east end there are some 250 metres of embankment : the wall is about 0·90 metre thick, and the buttresses (Fig. 20) were about 1·75 metre in width, projecting 2·28 metres, and at intervals of three to four metres, with their tops sloped off, precisely like the last bridge. The brickwork in them is good : the bricks are irregular fragments, dull red, about 0·25 metre long (we found one triangular piece loose 0·26 m. long). They are well laid. The vertical joints are 0·005 metre wide.

[1] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Ascoli Satriano, 175, 4.

The external part of the brick-facing has been removed in the central portion of the bridge: here the concrete core contains river pebbles: the bricks are 0·04 to 0·045 metre in thickness, and are mostly whole *bipedales* (Fig. 21). Bonding courses are found. The mortar courses (in the interior) are 0·034 metre thick. The mortar is good and pinkish in colour. The only pier that is standing in the central part of the bridge is about six metres high and four metres thick.

These two bridges, together with the Ponte delle Chianche below Buonalbergo and the viaduct at Apani, ten kilometres north-west of Brindisi, constitute the finest ruins along the Via Traiana, and, further-

FIG. 21.—BRICKWORK OF CARAPELLE VIADUCT, ORDONA.

more, provide (as they are dated monuments early in the second century) invaluable data for the study of the peculiarities of building construction under Trajan.

On the west bank of the present river Carapelle is a brick building —the chamber of a fountain—which is certainly modern. There is also a modern ruin on the east bank. Both of these lie a little to the S. of the line of the road. We now reach the railway from Foggia to Rocchetta S. Antonio, which skirts the line of hills on the E. side of the Carapelle valley; they rise more abruptly than those on the west and,

immediately above the railway station of Ordona, to the south of the modern bridge, are the ruins of the ancient Herdoniae.

It is difficult to see how we are to interpret the *Tab. Peut.* in its description of the Via Traiana from Beneventum to Canusium. From Beneventum a line crosses a range of hills in a N.W. direction and, after meeting an arc at *Foro novo*, continues to *Aequo tutico* and to two towers, above which is written *Aecas* and below *Hercul' Rani*. The distances read: *Benevento* to *Foro novo* x miles; *Foro Novo* to *Aequo Tutico* xii miles; *Aequo Tutico* to *Aecas* xviii miles. This line proceeds straight on to *Nucerie Apulie* (Luceria) and *Arpos*. The portion which deals with the Via Traiana stops at *Aecas*. There is clearly a *bivium*, but none is indicated, and the course taken by the Via Traiana after Aecae is represented by an arc cut at *Foro novo* by the line from Beneventum. This arc stops at two towers, beneath which is written xii (or xv, as Mommsen reads); then comes a series of steps along which we see *Furfane*—xviii—*Erdonia*—xii—*ad pirum*. Round and above this section runs the upper course of the Aufidus. There is no mention whatever of Canusium and the road is continued across the Aufidus (though there is no connection by line) as *Rudas*—xii—*Rubos*—xiiii—*Butontos*, etc.

The problems are to decide the meaning of the towers and to say whether *Furfane* or *ad pirum* is to be placed between *Erdonia* and *Aecae*. Mommsen[1] (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 26) reconstructs as follows: *Foro novo*—xii—*Aequo tutico*—xviii—AECAS—*ad pirum*—xii—Erdonia—xviii—*Furfane*—xv—*turres duae*.

The question has been discussed by Grasso.[2] He regards *Furfane* as a corruption of *super Dauni* (*flumen*), that is a road station above the Carapelle, considered by him to be the *pauper aquae Daunus* of Horace. But as the Via Traiana crosses the Carapelle only a mile and a half before reaching Herdoniae, there seems no point whatever in putting a station at the crossing of that river, when Herdoniae was so near. Furthermore the philological difficulties involved in identifying *Furfane* with *super Dauni* are considerable. The station *ad pirum* (xii miles

[1] *C.I.L.* ix. p. 64. He regards *Furfane* as being in the neighbourhood of the modern Cerignola. *C.I.L.* ix. p. 26. He thinks that the *turres duae* represent Canusium (oppidum, ad quod pinguntur turres nomine omisso, Canusium esse recte intellexerunt viri docti (*Mannert*, ix. 2, 74); sed num recte ita ordinaverim ut supra factum est fecitque similiter Desiardinius, p. 212, parum constat).

[2] *Studi*, vol. ii, pp. 37–41; 49–56.

from Herdoniae) he identifies with the *mut. undecimum*, which the *Itin. Hieros.* places between Herdoniae and Canusium. Finally, he inverts Mommsen's reconstruction and thinks that the compiler of the *Tab. Peut.* has been compelled by want of space to omit Canusium. Perhaps it is easier to admit that the two *duae turres nomine omisso* are to be interpreted as Canusium. Consequently *ad pirum* is to be sought somewhere between Aecae and Herdoniae—possibly seven miles from Aecae, as the total distance from Aecae to Herdonia is 19 miles and *ad pirum* is 12 miles away from Herdoniae. So the mysterious *Furfane* must be placed between Herdoniae and Canusium, though it is hard to identify it with any modern site and the distance between Herdoniae and Canusium thus becomes (18+15) 33 miles, instead of the actual 27. The *Itin. Hieros.*, too, which records the intermediate *mutationes* more completely than the other Itineraries, does not mention any station between Aecae and Herdoniae, although it records a *mut. ad undecimum* between Herdoniae and Canusium. To identify the *ad pirum* of the *Tab. Peut.* with the *mut. ad undecimum* of the *Itin. Hieros.* leaves Canusium entirely without indication and does not help to solve the problem of *Furfane* and the *turres duae*. Frankly, there can be no convincing solution of this corrupt part of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The little that we know of the history of Herdoniae[1] is fully recorded by Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 64) and Weiss (Pauly-Wissowa, '*R.E.*' vol. viii. 617).

It is chiefly important for us as a road centre. Nissen (*Ital. Land.* ii. 847) regards three roads as meeting at Herdoniae: namely the Via Traiana, the Via Herdonitana from Aeclanum through Vibinum, and a road from Ausculum, neither a *via publica* nor possessed of a name, which was followed by Horace. This is not entirely correct. The Via Herdonitana, which, from the evidence of *C.I.L.* ix. 670, 1156, we would regard as the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis joining Aeclanum and Herdoniae, never touched Vibinum (Bovino) but rather followed the Calaggio valley by Ausculum. It was along this road that Horace went from Aeclanum onwards. Thus only two roads met at Herdoniae,

[1] Its exact orthography is very doubtful. Herdōnĭae is the generally recognised form, as can be gathered from the various citations of the word which we possess. The singular form may have been used at the end of the republic (as we find in Livy and Strabo), but the plural form was certainly preferred later. Herdōnia, however, is found in Sil. It. viii. 567, as the metre requires.

since Nissen's road from Ausculum to Herdoniae is really the last part of the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis.

The modern village of Ordona is situated to the north of the ancient site, which is definitely fixed by the presence of a *tratturo*, following the course of the Via Traiana and passing in a straight line from the Ponte Rotto over the now dry course of the Carapelle across the present stream and so to the city. Early topographers had some difficulty in locating Herdoniae. For example, Cluver[1] says: 'Herdoniae sive Gerdoniae, Cedogna (*i.e.* Lacedogna)' and 'Infra Aecas versus meridiem est Herdonia opidum, vulgo nunc Cedogna dictum. Nomen eius antiquum, nescio qua variatione, etiam Cerdonia dictum fuit: ut est apud Strabonem vi. unde vulgare nunc vocabulum Cedogna. Opidum diserte Samnitibus, quorum pars erant Hirpini, adscribit Sil. Ital. viii.' Holste[2] corrects him and says, 'Herdonia autem Ardona.' Pratilli[3] quotes Iaconus of Bitonto, who says that the remains of the ancient Herdoniae are to be seen near the 'Osteria d'Ordona.'

On the hill above the station are the remains of what appears to be a rectangular mediaeval castle some 70 paces square defended by a fosse and a wall (now concealed by a mound): a gateway 3 m. wide at the S.W. angle is still preserved. Within it are the foundations of buildings, probably post-Roman: some of them are of extraordinarily bad *opus reticulatum* and brickwork: some of the pieces of brick are only 0·07 metre long, others 0·12, and the work certainly looks like mediaeval imitation. Two of these walls are built up to form an angle, at which was a stone pillar, now removed. The mortar courses are very irregular, and the mortar has been pronounced mediaeval by Dr. Esther van Deman.

This castle undoubtedly occupies part of the site of the Roman town. Considerable portions of what appears to be the Roman city wall are preserved: the first traces we see are across the mouth of a small valley running N.W. and S.E. It is constructed of pebble concrete with a facing of pebbles and was originally only 0·90 metre in thickness. Here there is a rectangular tower about 4 by 3 metres in internal dimensions. To the S.E. in the valley are traces of other buildings in concrete faced with brick (near the head of it is a fine piece of *opus reticulatum* and brickwork; and there is another with a niche). Above it on the N.E. is what seems

[1] *Ital. Ant.*, p. 1202.
[2] *Ad. Cluv.* pp. 271, 272.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 429.

to be a small amphitheatre some 50×40 yards in dimension (though the seats may well have extended further) with a deep hole in the centre and very scanty remains of construction. To the S.E. again is the same wall of concrete only 0·90 metre thick and preserved to a maximum height of about 10 feet; so that it seems almost too thin for the city wall, unless it had an internal embankment. This is probable; for, where the city wall is found again in the hill over the railway to the south of the valley, it is still 0·90 metre thick and has frequent buttresses 0·95 metre thick, tailing back, so that it did not stand free. It then crossed another valley to the south (on the intervening hill are unimportant concrete foundations), and here it is strongly built with heavy deep foundations and two towers apparently at the point of weakness; it is faced with some *opus incertum* and can be traced again on the hillside to the south (to the west of *Scudella*[1]). At the head of the second valley (the one just mentioned) is a large rectangular building with concrete walls about 10 feet high and 2 thick: the long side (which curves a trifle) is 50 paces long, the short, which runs E.S.E., is 11 paces long.

(2) *From Herdoniae to Barium.*

The ancient Itineraries record the following stations and distances on the Via Traiana between Herdoniae and Barium (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 26).

Itin. Anton.	*Itin. Hieros.*	*Tab. Peut.*	*Geog. Ravennae.*	*Modern Site.*	*Estimated distance.*
Erdonias	civ. Serdonis	Erdonia	Erdonias	Ordona	
	XV	XVIII			
XXVI	mut. undecimum	Furfane[2]		Masseria S. Marco	15 miles
	XI	XV			
Canusio	civ. Canusio	(turres duae)	Canusio	Canosa	11·75 miles
	XV				
XXIII	mut. ad. quint. decimum	Rudas	Budas	R.e Quadrone	15 miles
	XV (scr. VIII)	XV			
Rubos	civ. Rubos	Rubos	Rubos	Ruvo	11 miles
XI	XI				
Budruntus	mut. Butontones	Butontos	Butuntos	Bitonto	12 miles
XII	XI				
Varia	civ. Beroes			Bari	11 miles
72	71				75·75

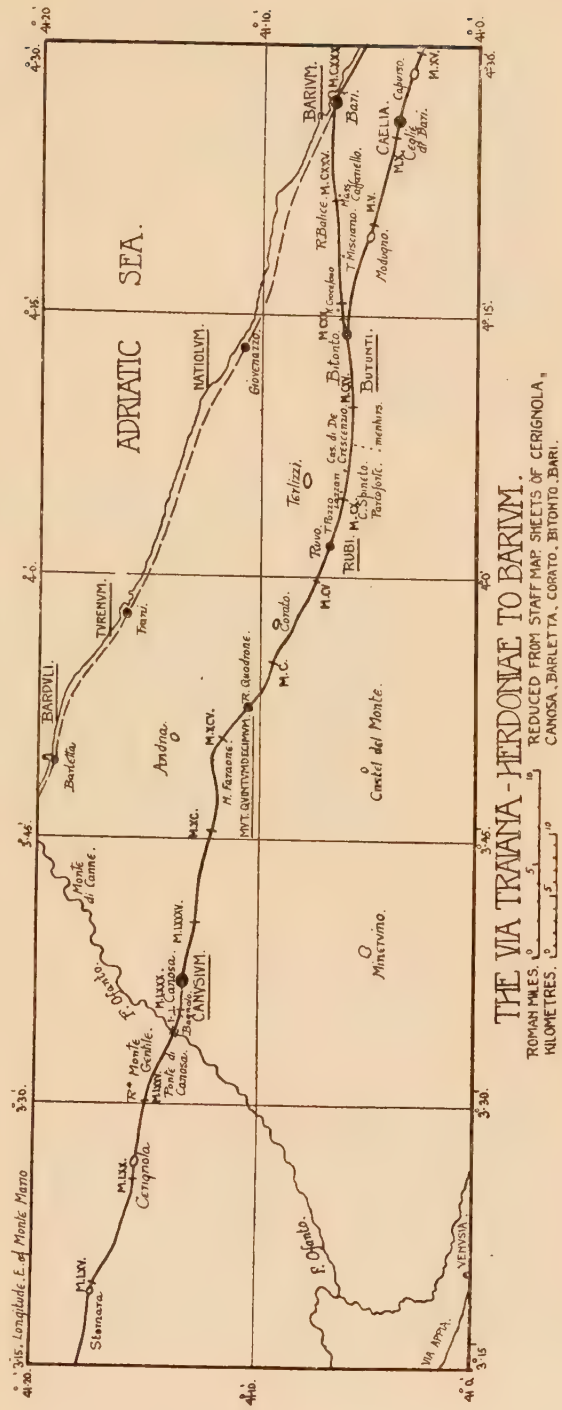
[1] Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Ascoli Satriano, 175, 4.

[2] On the uncertain interpretation of the *Tab. Peut.* see pages 147, 148 *supra.*

It is difficult to explain the difference of three miles between the actual and recorded distance from Canusium to Rubi, since the course, as measured, is almost a straight line between the two. Possibly the indication of the *Itin. Anton.* is to be altered from xxiii to xxvi. miles.

To the east of the modern village of Ordona we fall into the line of the *tratturo*: the Via Traiana, all traces of which have disappeared, kept, no doubt, a much straighter line than the winding track of the sheep road. In the field to the west of the Masseria Turando[1] or Durante there are traces of ancient Roman buildings, the knowledge of which we owe to Prof. Haseloff. There is to be seen a low concrete wall running N.N.W. about 5 metres long and 0·75 metre thick, faced with fragments of flange tiles and lined with cement. It seems to have formed part of a cistern. (Below the level of the floor the concrete is of rough small

[1] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Ascoli Satriano, 175, 4.



stones.) The mortar joints are wider. There is nothing else *in situ*. but there are bricks lying about. At the Masseria there is a relief of a horse (no doubt an *equus publicus*) with which we may compare a similar relief at Aeclanum with *fasces* to the spectator's right, on a block of limestone 1·25 metre long and 0·59 metre high.

There are a few Roman bricks loose in the *tratturo* to the north. After this the *tratturo* runs on nearly straight—the Staff-Map has exaggerated its bends—but without presenting any traces of antiquity. As far as Cerignola, which is reached via Stornara, there are no natural difficulties or obstacles.

Concerning Cerignola there are three hypotheses to be considered. The ancient Gereonium (or Gerunium) has been supposed by some[1] to have occupied the site of the modern Cerignola. But Gereonium,[2] as we gather from Livy and Polybius, must be 200 stades from Luceria towards Larinum, and therefore cannot be the ancient representative of Cerignola.

Secondly Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 64) writes: 'Inter Canusium et Erdoniam quae videtur interponi in Peutingerano mansio Furfane incidit fere in oppidum quod nunc est Cerignola.' Grasso (*Studi*, vol. ii. Introduction) says that this is wrong and would place (*ibid.* pp. 40 and 53) the '*mansio Furfane*' between Troia[3] and Ordona.

He regards the '*mutatio undecimum*' of the *Itin. Hieros*, 15 m.p. from Herdoniae and 11 m.p. from Canosa, as the ancient site of Cerignola. It is here that according to Orelli-Mewes[4] (commentary on Hor. *Sat.* 1889) Horace and his companions struck the later Via Traiana.

Perhaps Grasso is right in this hypothesis. He says (*Studi*, vol. ii. Intro.): 'Il nome della borgata preesistente a Cerignola sulla via Traiana

[1] Giovio and Alberti, *Memorie storiche di Cerignola*, Napoli, 1785, reprint, Faenza, 1883.

[2] Livy, xxii. 18: Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu quia conlapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. *Ibid.* 24, dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit duo ferme a Gereonio milia in tumulum hosti conspectum (Hannibal).

Polybius, iii. 100, 3, ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ Γερούνιον, ὃ τῆς Λουκαρίας ἀπέχει διακόσια στάδια.

[3] Cf. pages 147, 148 *supra*.

[4] Antequam autem ad Canusium pervenirent, apud mansionem hodie Cerignola, cui Itin. Hieros. tribuit nomen ad xi miliarium a Canusio Horatius et comites rursus in Viam Appiam (sic !) ingressi sunt.'

Conte, *Memorie filologiche sull' antichita della Chiesa di Cerignola*, Napoli, 1887, p. 12, alters the length of the ancient mile and proposes Cerignola as the *oppidulum* of Horace.

non significava altro per i viaggiatori che la distanza di 11 m.p. da Canusium.' The milestone of the Via Traiana to be seen at Cerignola (*C.I.L.* ix. 6022) and indicating a distance of 81 m.p. from Beneventum is out of place, but clearly belongs to the stretch of road between Cerignola and Canosa di Puglia. According both to the *Itin. Anton.* and the *Itin. Hieros.* the distance between Beneventum and the *mutatio undecimum* is 73 m.p., and between the former place and Canusium the distance is 84 m.p. Consequently the provenance of the milestone is obvious. The same writer regards Cerina, which lies some 10 kms. towards the sea, as being the 'mother town' of Cerignola on the analogy of Prata and Pratola, two small communes in the province of Avellino on the

FIG. 22.—BRIDGE OVER THE OFANTO, NEAR CANOSA.

Strada Nazionale from Naples to Foggia, the latter of which took its name from the former. He suggests that we may look for the origin of Cerignola in the place Κεραονιλία [1] mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (xx. 26. *Καταπράκταν μὲν οὖν καὶ* Κεραονιλίαν *ἐκπολιορκήσαντες φρουροὺς ἐπέθηκαν.*)

[1] If this be correct, we may consider the original form of Cerignola as being Cĕrīnĭŏla; hence it is dactylic and cannot be a candidate for Horace's *oppidulum*. But Horace, supposing that Ausculum was the *oppidulum*, could have come by a very easy route to join the line of the later Via Traiana at Cerignola itself or at the Masseria Monte Gentile, halfway to Canosa. Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Cerignola, 175, 1. Pratilli (*op. cit.* p. 511–514) describes such a road from Equotutico (which he places between Trivicum and Canosa, different from the Equumtuticum near Ariano) to Canosa via the Calaggio valley.

Only two other inscriptions (besides the milliarium) are attributed to Cerignola. Of these one (*C.I.L.* ix. 684) is interesting as being a dedication to the '*Bona Dea*' by one *Sextilia*.

The course[1] of the Via Traiana to the east of Cerignola is obviously that of the *tratturo*, and is free from obstacles. We did not actually follow it, inasmuch as the *tratturo* runs alongside the modern highroad through the R. Monte Gentile.

Two miles to the west of Canosa the road crossed the Ofanto by a bridge[2] (Fig. 22) of which very scanty traces remain in the actual one. The fourth stream pier from the left bank has on the west side of it three blocks of limestone with Roman bossing 0·74 metre high, two headers and a stretcher, which did not seem to be *in situ*. In the upstream buttress of the same pier are some smaller blocks, also very probably Roman, and Prof. Delbrück, who saw the bridge in the summer, when the river was almost dry, assured us that in his opinion it contained Roman work. None of the superstructure is ancient, however, and the bridge is extremely narrow—only 4·20 metres wide over all below and 3·45 metres between the parapets above, they being 0·45 and 0·50 metre wide respectively.

Over a mile to the east of the bridge is the so-called Bagnoli (Fig. 23), a two-storied Roman tomb of concrete, faced with tiles. The exterior is extremely fine, the joints being as small as 0·004 metre wide. There is a fine decorative cornice and an arch on the N. side, and it resembles absolutely in style similar monuments in the neighbourhood of Rome. The tiles of the exterior are triangles, but some are apparently broken to reach this form as far as possible and they do not look as if cut from square bricks. There are, on the other hand, no traces of flanges.

In the interior the tile facing is, as is usual, slightly less careful, but it is obviously of a good period. The pieces of tile are 0·25 metre long and are yellowish red; they seem to be mainly triangles, but some of them are irregular pieces. The vertical joints are 0·005 metre wide and the horizontal vary from 0·005 to 0·01 metre. The mortar is whitish, with peppery grains. The external measurement is about 12 by 6 metres. The vaulting of the lower chamber was supported by two brick pillars, as has been shown by recent excavations.

[1] Pratilli, *op. cit.* p. 518, describes the course of the road from Herdoniae to Canusium. At *Ad Sextum*, which he wrongly reads instead of the *mut. undecimum* of the *Itin. Hieros.*, he says there are remains of ancient buildings to the left of the road. Cerignola he places two miles to the north of the road upon a small hill. He mentions the milestone (lxxxi.) to be seen there.

[2] Pratilli, *op. cit.* p. 519. Nissen, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 854.

Of the amphitheatre, which lay under the modern road, only a little *opus reticulatum* is left.

Further up, on the S. side of the modern road which runs a little to the N. of the ancient line there is a small concrete ruin in a vineyard, probably the core of a tomb. The mortar seems to be bad and it may belong to a late period. A little further up there is a fragment of a marble cornice in the vineyard; then there is the concrete core of a square tomb with some brick facing. At the end of the vineyard towards Canosa is the arch (known as the Porta Romana), which has a single opening 5 m. wide. The two pillars are each 4 metres wide and the breadth of

FIG. 23.—BAGNOLI, CANOSA.

the structure is 5·5 metres. The brickwork facing to the concrete is irregular and looks very bad; the bricks are crooked, and long and short pieces are used indiscriminately. The facing has been much restored below and the interior of the arch is tiled.

The hill (Fig. 24) which was occupied by the ancient Apulian[1] city rises sharply from the low ground on which these remains are situated and is nearly 100 metres above the level of the Ofanto at the bridge. The discovery of coins, bearing the Greek[2] legend Καννσίων, and the

[1] General references to Canusium: *C.I.L.* ix. p. 34, 35; *P.W.* '*R.E.*' vol. iii: 1501; Nissen, *It. Land.*, ii. 853–856; Romanelli, *Topogr. storica*, ii. 262; N. Jacobone, *Canosa antica.*

[2] Garrucci, *Monete d'Italia*, 94.

survival of Greek language[1] there seem to harmonise with the story of its foundation by the Grecian hero, Diomedes. The part which it played in the Hannibalic war was not conspicuous, but it was never taken by Hannibal, and so was a *point d'appui* for the Romans. Two centuries after in the Social War, it revolted from Rome and suffered very severely.[2] Its later prosperity was due to its position as a port[3] and a road-station.[4] Trades, too, flourished very considerably at Canusium.

FIG. 24.—HILL OF CANOSA.

In the early empire it was a municipium enrolled in the Tribus Oufentina, but under Antoninus Pius it became the *Colonia Aurelia Augusta Pia Canusium* (*C.I.L.* ix. 344). Herodes Atticus,[5] consul in

[1] Horace, *Sat.* i. 5. 92 : nam Canusi (panis) lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna | qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim ; *Sat.* i. 10, 30 : Canusini more bilinguis.

[2] Strabo, vi. 3, 9, p. 283, mentions its degeneracy : *οὐ πολὺ γὰρ δὴ τῆς θαλάττης ὑπέρκεινται δύο πόλεις ἔν γε τῷ πεδίῳ, μέγισται τῶν Ἰταλιωτίδων γεγονυῖαι πρότερον, ὡς ἐκ τῶν περιβόλων δῆλον, τό τε Κανύσιον καὶ ἡ Ἀργυρίππα, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐλάττων ἐστίν.*

[3] Its harbour, to which ships came up from the Adriatic, was perhaps identical with Cannae. Strabo, vi. 3, 9, p. 283 : *ἐκ δὲ Βαρίου πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν Αὔφιδον, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ ἐμπόριον τῶν Κανυσιτῶν, τετρακόσιοι (στάδιοι).*

[4] Before the construction of the Via Traiana it was on one of the regular routes between Beneventum and Brundisium. Strabo, vi. 3, 7, p. 283, considered *supra* p. 108. Frequent mention is made of it in accounts of journeys.

[5] Philostratus, *vit. soph.*, 2, 1, 5, p. 551 : *ᾤκισε δὲ* (Herodes Atticus) . . . *τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, Κανύσιον ἡμερώσας ὕδατι μάλα τούτου δεόμενον.* *Not. d. Scavi*, 1894, 408, records an inscription on a water pipe, R(ei) P(ublicae) C(anusinorum) cur(ante) P · GRAEC(idio) FIRMO.

143 A.D., was responsible for the rebuilding of Canusium and furnished it with a good water supply, which, if we remember Horace's language, 'aquae non ditior urna,' would be a prime requisite.

The top of the hill at Canusium is occupied by a castle[1] which seems to be possibly ancient, though it is generally attributed to Frederick II. The materials at least are ancient. It had no less than four towers and is constructed of massive ashlar masonry; the material is a calcareous tufa-like stone (often wrongly called tufa) and the blocks are 0·83 metre high and 1·40 metres (approximately) long. They are fairly well laid, although only slight traces of mortar are present. The curtain walls, however, are of much smaller blocks and mortar is more freely used. The castle commands a splendid view, seawards to the promontory of Gargano, down and up the Ofanto and across to M. Vulture and the mountains near it. To the east are the round desolate Murge with Minervino perched upon them. There are no other traces of the city walls of Canosa.

Within the modern city, on the eastern portion of the site, at S. Chiara in the Vico Giovanni Prati and in the Piazza are the remains of a large Roman concrete building faced with *opus reticulatum* and fine tilework; the mortar is pinkish white. The tiles are magenta colour: they are irregular fragments 0·25 to 0·28 metre long and the vertical joints only 0·005 metre wide. The principal part of the building is a structure about 16 metres square sunk below the ground level, probably a cistern, for a *cuniculus* with a pointed roof runs into it. It probably belongs to the early second century A.D. and may be connected with the rebuilding by Herodes Atticus in 143 A.D. (The construction of the Via Traiana gave an impetus to all the towns upon its line.) Slightly below is a large octagonal vaulted structure with a narthex, known as the Battistero di S. Giovanni, about 20 metres across: round the central octagon are barrel vaulted passages.

The necropolis of Canusium was situated on the S. edge of the *tratturo* to the south of the town and to the east of the railway station. Its tombs have produced a large number of fine vases, which have been recently discussed by Jatta (*Röm. Mittheil.* xxix. p. 90) and Nachod (*ibid.* p. 260).

For the first four miles to the east of Canosa the ground is heavily

[1] For the characteristics of mediaeval fortifications constructed from Roman materials see Gsell, *Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, vol. ii. p. 344 *seq.*

cultivated and no traces of the line of the road are left : it must have passed across two valleys, neither of which presented any serious difficulty. We then come to a track which runs a little south of east and must preserve the line of the Via Traiana : no traces, however, are to be seen along it, they having been obliterated by its conversion into a *tratturo*. Castel del Monte far to the south now comes prominently into view on its lonely mound. The main road from Canosa to Andria is crossed and now a part of the *tratturo* has been converted into a driving road.

On the northern extremity of the stony M. Faraone[1] (almost due south of Andria) there are scanty traces of a mediaeval castle, overlooking the road : the recinto seems to have been about 300 yards square, but nothing is left beyond some mounds and foundations. Beyond the Monte Faraone the track runs perfectly straight and is some 6 to 7 metres wide. The main *tratturo*, which we presently cross at right angles, runs from Trinitapoli, avoiding Corato, up to the Murge. The *mutatio quintumdecimum* may be placed in the R. Quadrone, south-east of the Monte Faraone.

Corato[2] does not occupy an ancient site, but the district was inhabited by a prehistoric population.

The first dolmen recorded in this part of Italy lies in the contrada *La Chianca* six kilometres from Bisceglie on the road to Ruvo. It was discovered by the late Prof. A. Mosso in 1909,[3] but Dott. Michele Gervasio, Director of the Museum at Bari, has discovered several other dolmens in the district since then, notably one near Corato,[4] the Chianche dei Paladini.

We ourselves were able to add to the prehistoric antiquities by the discovery of a row of four fine *menhirs* between Ruvo and Bitonto, along the lane which follows the boundary of the *circondari* of Terlizzi and Bitonto, immediately to the south of the line of the Via Traiana, in the contrada Spineto Parcoforte. The first of them is in the middle of the track, which is 11 metres wide : it measures 2·43 metres in height and 0·80 metre in width from N.E. to S.W. and 0·42 metre from N.W. to S.E. The former dimension decreases towards the top but not the latter.

The second is some 500 metres down the track on its W. side : it is less than 2 metres high and much worn away at the top. Some 700 or

[1] Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Barletta, 176, 1.

[2] The milestones *C.I.L.* ix. 6040, 6042, 6043, 6044, were discovered at and in the vicinity of Corato.

[3] See Angelo Mosso, *Le origini della civiltà Mediterranea*, 1910, p. 167 *seq.*

[4] See Michele Gervasio, *I dolmen e la civiltà del bronzo nelle Puglie*. Bari, 1913, pp. 1–69.

800 metres further on is a third 2·25 metres high, the side parallel to the road (from north to south) measuring 0·68 metre and the other 0·35 metre. About a kilometre further on, at the point where the driving road, into which our track has fallen, turns to run E.S.E., on the west of it is a fourth *menhir* (Fig. 25) 2·25 metres high, 0·83 metre wide from north to

FIG. 25.—MENHIR BETWEEN RUVO AND BITONTO.

south, and 0·50 metre from east to west. We informed Dott. Gervasio of the find and he has published two of them.[1]

The line of the *tratturo*, which must follow the Via Traiana, keeps about a mile to the S.S.W. of Corato: but there is no visible trace of antiquity as far as Ruvo nor again to the east of it. There is, however, a stretch of the *crepido* of the road extant in a vineyard near Ruvo (Fig. 26). We are indebted for the photograph to the Cav. Jatta of Ruvo.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 338 *sqq.*, Figs. 107, 108.

The modern Ruvo preserves the name of the ancient Rubi,[1] on the site of which it is situated. It is mentioned by Horace in the account of his journey to Brundisium.

The *mansio Rudae* or *Dudae* (*Tab. Peut.* and *Geogr. Rav.*) which Mommsen [2] supposes to be represented by the modern Andria, cannot be located with exactitude, as the Via Traiana passed some three and a half kilometres to the south of that city (which is not ancient). But possibly

FIG. 26.—CREPIDO OF THE VIA TRAIANA, NEAR RUVO.

the *mutatio ad quint. decimum* of the *Itin. Hieros.* may be identified with it, and as the distance separating it from Canusium is 15 miles it may be placed somewhere in the *R. Quadrone*,[3] S.S.E. of Andria.

[1] 'Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
Carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.' (*Sat.* 1, 5, 94).

In Pliny (iii. 11, 105) we read of the *Rubustini*: and perhaps in § 102 where we read 'Poediculorum oppida Rudiae (ruriae *Lugd.*) Egnatia Barium, we ought to read Rubi Egnatia, unless we are to suppose that Pliny erroneously assigned Ennius' birthplace to the Poediculi. The *auctor libri coloniarum interpolati* (p. 262) gives *Rubustinus ager*. We possess a considerable number of coins from Rubi, silver and bronze, bearing the inscriptions Ῥυψ and Ῥυβαστείνων. Sambon, *Monnaies de la presqu'île Italique*, p. 214.

[2] *C.I.L.* ix. p. 33. Inter Rubos et Canusium quae videtur in itinerariis interponi *mansio Rudae* sive *Budae*, incidens fere in oppidum quod nunc est Andria, titulis paene caret. Non recte ad eam referri locum Plinii, iii, 11, 102, modo monui, p. 6.

[3] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Barletta, 176, 1.

A little after reaching the Torre Pozzo Lazzari, due south of Terlizzi, the road abandons its southward tendency and begins to run almost due east. Here the *tratturo* is about 30 metres wide and there is mediaeval cobble paving some 6 or 7 metres wide on its northern side. After passing the Casino di De Crescenzio we reached the dolmens already mentioned, and from this point the *tratturo*, to avoid high ground, descends gradually in an E.N.E. direction. The modern stone huts with beehive roofs but square on plan are noticeable hereabouts as survivals. Further on towards Bitonto the track narrows down to 5 or 6 metres, and still there are no ancient traces upon it : it is not certain whether the road passed here or not.

Bitonto represents the Apulian and Roman Butunti, though no ancient remains above ground are to be seen at the present time. Bronze coins have been found having the legend Βυτοντίνων. The itineraries variously give *Budrundus Butontones* and Butontos. Pliny (iii. 11, 105) mentions *Butuntinenses*, but wrongly locates them among the inland peoples of Calabria. The town is noticed by Martial,[1] but in a derogatory strain. The *auctor libri coloniarum interpolati* (p. 262) writes *Botontinus ager*.[2] Although it may have been more than a mere *mutatio* in ancient times, no inscriptions have come to light there.

At Bitonto the main track of the Via Traiana continued towards Bari, but a shorter road mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingerana* cut straight across country to Egnatia. The *Tabula Peutingerana* describes it as follows (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 26) :—

BVTVNTOS
VIIII
Celia
VIII
Ezetium
XX (?)
Norve[3]
VIII
ad Veneris
VIII
Gnatie

[1] iv. 55, 29 'Haec tam rustica malo quam Butontos.'

[2] To the stretch between Ruvo and Bitonto belong the milestones *C.I.L.* ix. 6040–6051. For excavations at Bitonto see *Not. d. Scavi*, 1882 : 242, 1886 : 239, 1887 : 204, 1897 : 433.

[3] Mommsen notes : statio adiungitur, errore ut videtur, extremae viae VI. *sub Lubatia* : numerus XX. utrum pertineat ad viam Norva—Ezetium numero carentem an ad aliam viam parum constat.

The *Geographer of Ravenna* (4, 35) mentions the following stations :— Butuntos, Celia, Ezetium, Norbe, Veneris.

Horace after reaching Ruvo followed the line of the later Via Traiana to Barium and Egnatia, but the road described by Strabo[1] took a somewhat shorter course (precisely that set forth above) and between Ruvo and Gnathia passed through Celia (Καιλία) and Netium. This was a more direct route, and we may conjecture that the Via Traiana was only taken to Barium because of that city's importance as a harbour. Possibly, too, the fact that Bari now became a road centre would add greatly to its prosperity.

Nine miles from Bitonto this road reaches Ceglie di Bari (the ancient Caelia[2]). We must distinguish it from a Caelia in Calabria, between Baletium and Brundisium, which is to be sought in the modern Cellino or Ceglie Messapica.

The exact locations of the stations *Ezetium*, *Norve*, and *ad Veneris* are quite uncertain, but it seems possible that a line through the modern sites of Bitonto, Modugno, Ceglie di Bari, Rutigliano, and Conversano approximately represents the course of this ancient road.[3] The length of such a course is 45 miles. The distance between Butunti and Ceglie di Bari would seem to be 10 rather than 9 (as stated by the *Tab. Peut.*). We may place *Ezetium* conjecturally at a point about 1 mile east of Noicattaro. The 20 miles which the *Tab. Peut.* gives between *Ezetium* and *Norve* may be changed to 12 and the station of *Norve* put 1 mile north-east of Conversano. *Ad Veneris*, 8 miles distant each way from *Norve* and Gnathia, would then lie 2 miles south-west of Monopoli. We did not follow the inland route. It is improbable that it descended sharply off

[1] Strabo, vi. 3, 7, p. 282.

[2] The form Καιλία is better attested than that of Κελία. Strabo (*loc. cit.*) gives 'Καιλία'; Ptolemy, iii. 1, 73, says 'Ἀπουλῶν Πευκετίων μεσόγειοι . . . Κελία. In the *Tab. Peut.* and the *Geog. Raven.* we read Celia. The *liber coloniarum interpolatus* (p. 262) gives 'Caelinus ager' and in an inscription from Rome we read (*C.I.L.* vi. 2382, 6, c. 33 : C · VALERIVS C · F · CLA · MARCVLIN · CAEL). From this inscription it is clear that Caelia was registered in the Tribus Claudia. From Caelia come bronze and silver coins inscribed Καιλίνων. The inscriptions from Caelia are mostly funerary and none of them cast any light upon the local constitution. Kaibel, *I.G.* xiv. 686, records a Greek fragment.

[3] Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 30, says : 'Mediterranea quoque via Gnathia Butontum ducens stationes habet *ad Veneris*, *Norve*, *Ezetium* et ipsas auctoribus quos habemus ignotas; temere enim Netium oppidum, quod Strabo vi. 3, 7, p. 282, inter Caeliam et Canusium interponit, ad Ezetium illud rettulerunt alio omnino loco situm. Lapides scriptos hae quoque partes adhuc non magis dederunt.

the Murge near Gnathia; it would rather come down more gradually and run for some distance almost parallel with the coast road.

Twelve miles from Butonti according to the *Itin. Anton.* (the *Itin. Hieros.* gives xi.), the Via Traiana reaches the ancient Barium (Bari delle Puglie). The track from Bitonto leads out eastward past the church of the Crocefisso, and after a mile or two crosses a valley near the Fondo Balice.[1] Here are the remains of a mediaeval building on the E. side of the ravine, probably of a small mediaeval castle which guarded the passage. Nothing is preserved of it but an underground hall some 10 metres long and 9 metres wide, with a pointed roof built of small rectangular blocks of stone some 0·52 metre long and only 0·11 metre high. The hall runs N.N.E. and S.S.W., and at its S. end is a rock-cut reservoir with a barrel-vaulted roof of similar stonework, about 10 metres long by 6 metres wide, placed end on to the hall. A door on the E. side of the latter leads into some passages cut in the rock. There is a small modern house above it.

To the south-east is the Torre Misciano which some local archaeologists believe (wrongly) to be a corruption of Mucianus, and they place here an ancient villa, of which, however, there are no traces to be seen. The ground is cultivated and the track has disappeared; but it takes up again further to the east in the Riserva Balice,[2] though the ancient road must have run a good deal straighter. To the north-east of the Masseria Caffariello[3] it is about 10 metres wide. It is for a while followed by the communal boundary of Bari. Near the town, however, in the low ground it disappears altogether.

Though Barium[4] possesses a fine natural harbour, its position, turned away from the markets of the ancient world, must have prevented it from becoming conspicuously important. It may have played a part in the struggles for supremacy in Magna Graecia at the end of the fourth century B.C. and in 180 B.C.; it is mentioned by Livy[5] in connexion with

[1] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Bari delle Puglie, 177, 2. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] All available information concerning Barium is given by Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 30, 31; Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, '*R.E.*' iii. 19; and Nissen, *Ital. Land.* ii. 358. According to Horace, *Sat.* 1, 5, 92, it was famous for its fish, while Pliny, *N.H.* xiv. 69, is probably to be referred to its wines. Tacitus' mode of expression (*Ann.* xvi. 9 Silanus tamquam Naxum deveheretur Ostiam amotus post municipio Apuliae, cui nomen Barium, clauditur) would lead one to think it unimportant.

[5] Livy, xi. 18, inter duumviros ita divisa tuenda denis navibus maritima ora, ut promunturium iis Minervae velut cardo in medio esset; alter inde dextram partem usque ad Massiliam, laevam alter usque ad Barium tueretur.

a division of the Roman fleet. Such importance as it possessed as a road-centre[1] cannot be referred to an early period. Three roads met at Barium. The Via Traiana reached the Adriatic coast here. A coast road from Sipontum, of which we know practically nothing, here joined the Via Traiana, while a cross road, equally uncertain, connected Barium with Tarentum.

(3) *From Barium to Brundisium.*

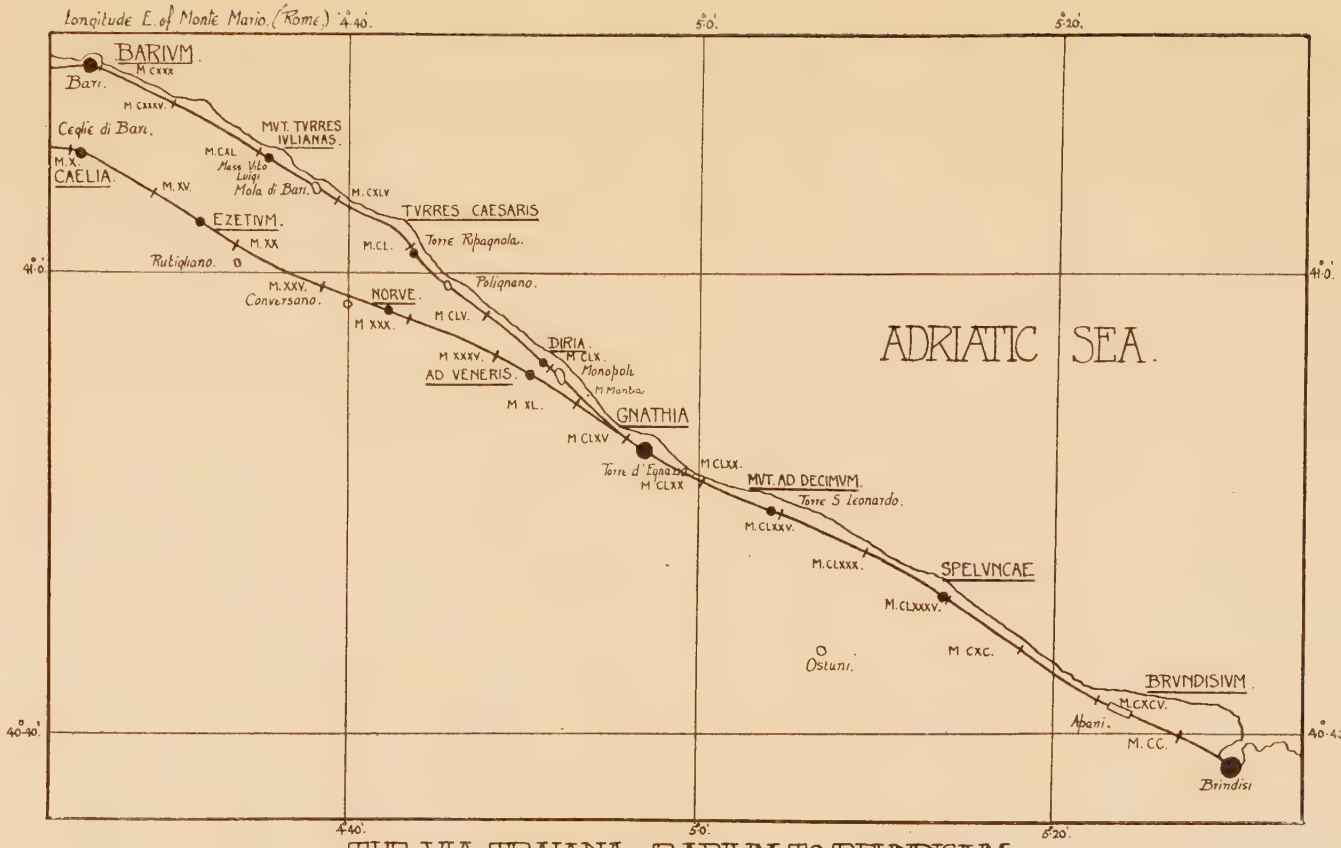
Between Barium and Brundisium the following stations and distances are recorded by the ancient Itineraries (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 26).

Itin. Anton. A. (p. 313, 315)	*Itin. Anton.* B. (p. 117, 118)	*Itin. Hieros.*[2]	*Tab. Peut.*	*Geog. Ravennae.*	*Modern Site.*	*Estimated distance.*
Barium	Varia	civitas Beroes	Barium	Barium	Bari	
XXII	XXI	XI mut. Turres Julianas	XX		Masseria Vito Luigi	11 miles
Arnesto (Ernesto)	Turribus	IX mut. Turres Aurilianas	Turris Caesaris	Turris Caesaris	Torre Ripagnola	9 miles
XV	XVI	XV	IX Vertum	Diriam (Dixium)	N.E. of Monopoli	9 miles
Gnatiae	Egnatiae	civitas Leonatiae	IX Gnatia	Gnatia (Ignatiae)	Torre d'Egnazia	6 miles
XXI	XX	X ad decimum. mut.			Torre S. Leonardo	10 miles
Speluncis	Speluncis	XI Spilenaces mansio	Speluncis	Speluncas	Torre S. Sabina	10 miles
XVIII Brundisium	XIX Brundisium	XIV Brindisi civitas	XXVIII Brindisi	Brentesion	Brindisi	16 miles
76	76	70	?			71 miles

Between Bari and Monopoli the modern highroad along the coast seems to represent the course of the Via Traiana, and it did not seem worth while to follow it, inasmuch as the probability of the existence of any ancient traces along it is extremely small. From Monopoli onwards,

[1] *C.I.L.* ix. pp. 25, 26.

[2] It is curious that the *Itin. Hieros.* should be more exact here than the *Itin. Anton.* The total distance between Beneventum and Brundisium, as measured along the probable course of the road, is almost 205 miles. The *Itin. Anton.* gives a total of 206, the *Itin. Hieros.* of 199 miles.



THE VIA TRAIANA - BARIVM TO BRVNDISIVM

ROMAN MILES. 0 5 10
KILOMETRES. 0 5 10

REDUCED FROM STAFF MAP. SHEETS OF BARI, MOLA DI BARI, CONVERSANO, MONOPOLI, OSTUNI, (FARO PENNE, BRINDISI.)

it is represented by a track, and to the south-east of the Masseria Mantia it ran quite close to the sea. Here, indeed, Prof. Quagliati (Director of the Museum at Taranto) told us that he had seen a piece of the road inundated by the sea; and though there was nothing certainly Roman to be seen, this must have been the ancient line.

On the Via Traiana, between Barium and Gnathia, the Itineraries place the following stations: *mut. Turres Iulianas* xi miles from Barium, Arnestum or the *mut. Turres Aurilianas* (or *Turris Caesaris* or simply *Turribus*) xx or xxi miles, *Vertum* ix miles from *Turris Caesaris* and *Gnatia* respectively, and *Diriam*[1] (or *Dixium*) of unknown position.

Guido (c. 27, 71) identifies *Diria* (*Diriam* being the accusative form) with the modern Monopoli, and the *Turres Iulianas* with Polignano. There is no authority for this identification.[2] It is asserted, however, from the existence of bronze[3] coins bearing the legend Νεαπο, and all struck in Apulia, that Polignano was once called Neapolis. There are practically no inscriptions or traces of antiquity to be discovered in these parts. *C.I.L.* ix. 273 (found at Polignano) is a votive tablet to Antoninus Pius, and at Turi, six miles from Conversano, a funeral cippus (ix. 274) was discovered.

Some nine miles south of Monopoli are to be seen the ruins at the Torre d'Egnazia, which represent the site of the ancient Gnatia,[4] Gnathia, Egnatia, or Ignatia, the most southerly town belonging to the Peucetii.

[1] That the *Diriam* of the Geogr. Raven. is to be preferred to the *Dertum* of the Tab. Peut. may be suggested from Pliny, *N.H.* iii. 11, 105, who speaks of Dirini.

[2] Nissen, *op. cit.* p. 860, places *Turres Caesaris* at Polignano, *Diria* at Monopoli. Pratilli (*op. cit.* pp. 534–543) describes the Via Traiana from Barium to Gnathia. At *Torre Ripagnola* (Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Mola di Bari, 178, 3, where 'Ruderi' are marked) he places *Turres Caesaris*. He is certainly wrong in identifying *Turres Iulianas* with '*Turres Aurelianas*,' '*Turribus*,' and '*Turris Caesaris*.' The three latter are clearly the same, but '*Turres Iulianas*' is nearer Barium. He says that pavement is visible for three miles near S. Vito (south of Torre Ripagnola) at a distance of fifty paces from the sea. Here he would place the station of *Arnesto*, but it is almost certainly to be identified with *Turres Caesaris*, as Pratilli himself later suggests. The station of *Vertum* or *Diria* he locates at the *Torre Orto* just north of Monopoli. Between *Torre Orto* and Monopoli he says that pavement is to be seen. South of Monopoli he states that the road passed quite near the '*fortino di S. Stefano*' and the '*Torre di Centola*' (both of these are given on the Staff Map, 1 : 50,000; Monopoli, 190, 1, as *S. Stefano* and *Torre Cindola*). The *Torre di Palasciano* farther south may perhaps be represented by the modern *Lo Sciale* on the same map. Much pavement, he says, is to be seen from there to Gnathia.

[3] Sambon, *op. cit.* p. 213; Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 30, says: 'eos enim tradunt in Polignanensi territorio potissimum eruderari.

[4] The name of the city is given in various forms. A bronze caduceus from the neighbouring Fasano (*I.G.* xiv. 685) reads ΓΝΑΘΙΝΟΝ; two tiles, *ibid.* 2401[1] and 2402[2] give respec-

M. Mayer (*Röm. Mitt.* xix. 227) regards the name as being of Rhodian origin (ἴγνητες = αὐθιγενεῖς). Originally it seems to have been an Iapygian settlement, which later on fell to the Messapians and finally to the Peucetii. Strabo, Pliny,[1] and Ptolemy, all assign it to the Peucetii; but in one passage Pliny (ii. 240) wrongly says that it was a town of the Sallentini.

Before the rise of Brundisium Gnatia would be a post of considerable importance, and the discoveries of Attic vases[2] are a proof of commercial relations with Greece. Later on, it was overshadowed by Brundisium, and mentioned only very rarely. Some[3] have thought that Horace's complaint against the scantiness or bad quality of the water at Gnatia is unfounded. That the place had a constitution we gather from the inscription (*C.I.L.* ix. 263) which mentions an AED(ilis) I(ure) D(icundo).

The Via Traiana, as the excavations tell us for certain, ran right through the ancient city of Egnatia, and the gates through which it passed can still be traced. The town walls form a perfect rectangle, except on the sea side (where there are none), and are built on the outside of well-coursed rectangular blocks of stone, while, on the interior, the stonework is left rough. They are at least five metres in thickness and have a large fosse in front of them. The finest piece is at the north-east end of the north-west side by the sea, where the fortifications are double with a cut some five or six metres wide between them. Here the outer wall is preserved to a height of sixteen courses. Excavations, now in active progress under Prof. Quintino Quagliati's direction, have led to the discovery of houses of the Roman period within the walls, with mosaic

tively Γ]ΝΑΘΙΣ and Γ]ΝΑΘΙΟΣ. The form Gnatia is used by Horace, *Sat.* i, 5, 97 (dein Gnatia lymphis | iratis exstructa) Mela ii, 66, and the Geogr. Rav. iv. 31. The locative form (Gnatiae) is read in the *Itin. Anton.* 313. Gnatia comes from the Tab. Peut. and also from the Geog. Rav. Egnatia and the corresponding Greek form Ἐγνατία are given respectively by Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 240, iii. 102; Ptolemy, iii. 1, 13, and Strabo, vi. 3, 8, p. 282. The locative form of this (Egnatiae) we discover in the *Itin. Anton.* 117; Ignatiae comes from the Geog. Rav. v. i. Ignatinus [ager] is used in the *Lib. coloniarum*, p. 262; Leonatiae by the *Itin. Hieros.* 609 and Augnatium by Guido, 27, 71. See Pratilli, *op. cit.* pp. 544, 545; L. Pepe, *Notizie storiche ed archeologiche dell' antica Gnathia*, Ostuni, 1882.

[1] Strabo, vi. 3, 8, p. 283. παραπλέοντι δ' ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου τὴν Ἀδριατικὴν παραλίαν πόλις ἐστὶν ἡ Ἐγνατία οὖσα κοινὴ καταγωγὴ πλέοντί τε καὶ πεζεύοντι εἰς Βάριον...μέχρι δεῦρο μὲν Πευκέτιοι κατὰ θάλατταν. Pliny, iii, 102. Ptolemy, iii, 1, 13.

[2] M. Mayer, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

[3] Nissen, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 860, note 10, says: *Gnatia lymphis iratis exstructa* kann angesichts der reichen und trefflichen Quellen des Ortes nicht auf Wasserarmut gedeutet werden.

pavements, showing traces of reconstruction several times : the walls are of fairly good *opus quadratum*. Below them are tombs, both inhumation and cremation, in one of which was discovered a black-figured lekythos. The details of the results are not available for us. The acropolis was on the side towards the sea and had a separate wall round it, besides being strongly fortified.

Between Gnatia and Brundisium the Itineraries place the following stations : *ad decimum mutatio* (*Itin. Hieros.*) 10 miles from Gnatia, and *Speluncae* (or, variously, *Spelunae* or *Spilenaees mansio*) 20 or 21 miles from Gnatia. If *ad decimum mutatio* is placed in the neighbourhood of the Torre S. Leonardo[1] and Speluncae near the Torre S. Sabina,[2] the distances are approximately satisfied.

Pratilli (*op. cit.* p. 544–547) gives a full account of this stretch of the Via Traiana. The course of the road is described with accuracy, and the names mentioned by Pratilli (chiefly those of mediaeval towers) survive almost without exception. But he makes a great mistake in asserting that between Gnatia and Brundisium the Via Traiana had two courses, one along the coast as described above, another inland which diverged from the coast road at the Torre Villanova and went to Ostuni, which he regards as the station *Speluncae* of the Itineraries. He wrongly follows Holste in this identification. The Via Traiana, he states, goes thence straight to Brundisium and pavement is to be seen on the route.

It is better, however, to put the station of *Speluncae* on the coast, as the name suggests—and, reckoning the distance of twenty or twenty-one miles from Gnatia, perhaps we may locate it, as suggested above, at the Torre S. Sabina on the coast N.N.E. of Carovigno, where there are low hills near the shore.

The road clearly ran along the low ground between the escarpment of the low coast hills and the shore, and, as far as could be ascertained, there are no traces of antiquity to be seen upon it until Apani is reached, about eleven kilometres before arriving at Brindisi.[3] Here are conspicuous

[1] Cf. Staff Map, 1 : 50,000 ; Ostuni, 191, 3.

[2] Cf. Carta d' Italia del Touring Club Italiano, Lecce.

[3] In *Italie pittoresque* (Tableau historique et descriptif de l'Italie, du Piémont, de la Sardaigne, de Malte, de la Sicile et de la Corse, Paris, 1835), p. 49, we read : On distingue encore ça et la quelques dalles intactes de la voie antique et je découvris moi-même au milieu de la plaine un vaste fragment de construction réticulaire. Etait-ce un temple ? une villa ? un tombeau ? C'est ce que je ne saurais dire. Tout ce que ce je puis affirmer, c'est que c'est un débris romain. We are unable to state the nature or position of this construction in *opus reticulatum*.

remains of a bridge and viaduct belonging to the Via Traiana. They are described in the Guida di Brindisi[1] (1910) by Cav. Pasquale Camassa. In the *tenuta l'Apani* there is a depression (now entirely covered by vineyards) in which runs a stream emptying into the Adriatic. In the Roman period the depression was certainly much more distinctly marked than at present, owing to the effects of cultivation, and it is probable that in the rainy season it was a marsh. The line of the Via Traiana went at right angles across this depression, and so the construction of a bridge and viaduct was rendered necessary.

The bridge no longer exists, but the viaduct is well preserved. It was constructed of concrete, brickwork and *opus reticulatum* (Fig. 27),

FIG. 27.—VIADUCT OF THE VIA TRAIANA AT APANI.

the facing being composed of the two latter materials. It was strengthened with buttresses[2] of similar materials. The viaduct runs N.W. by S.E. (uncorrected), and over all was 142 metres long; the bridge over the stream, of which no traces now remain, was 11·20 metres long. The

[1] Camassa erroneously says that the viaduct was used for the Via Appia. He means the Via Traiana.

[2] Compare the structure of the buttresses in the bridges across the Cervaro and Carapelle near Ordona.

total width was 6·35 metres, including the side walls, which were about 0·80 metre thick. The road would be about five metres across. The buttresses project some 1·35 metres from the vertical plain, and vary in distance apart from 3·10 to 3·82 metres. The mortar is whitish, and the measurements of the brick courses are as follows: mortar, 1·8 cms.; brick, 3·5 cms.; mortar, 1·9 cms.; brick, 3 cms.; mortar, 1·0 cm. There are no traces of the continuation of the road either way, and no remains of pavement.

Another construction in the same neighbourhood which is to be attributed to the Romans is the *Pozzo S. Vito*,[1] situated about three kilometres to the north of the station of S. Vito. The well is of circular shape, and is about ten metres in diameter: the walling is constructed of an external casement of limestone blocks faced on the inside by *opus reticulatum* in tufa. In the *Fondo S. Vito* there is also a *cuniculus*, which originally led into the aqueduct, now ruined, supplying Brundisium.

As there are no traces of the ancient walls of Brundisium, we cannot definitely say where the Via Traiana entered the city; but it is probable that it would come in just below the western arm of the Inner Harbour, and meet the Via Appia inside the city. There is not much reason to suppose that the Column of Brindisi[2]

[1] Cf. Camassa, *op. cit.* pp. 27, 28.

[2] Camassa, *op. cit.* p. 21. The survivor of two twin columns (the other fell in 1528 and was transported to Lecce) is to be seen near the harbour at Brindisi. It is composite in style; the pillar is made of cipollino, the pedestal and capital of white marble. The capital is adorned with twelve figures (head and shoulders alone), four of which represent Jupiter, Neptune, Minerva and Mars; the remaining eight are Tritons. The whole is nineteen metres high and bears on its base the following incomplete inscription:—

ILLVSTRIS PIVS ACTIB · ATQ : REFVLGE
PTOSPATHA LVPVS VRBEM HANC STRUXIT AD
QVAM IMPERATORES MAGNIFICIQ : BENIGNI

The two columns are probably to be referred to the time of Sulla, who, in order to recompense Brundisium for its co-operation in the Social War, granted it ἀτέλεια, the nature of which is in dispute. Cf. Appian, *B.C.* i. 79. δεξαμένων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχεὶ τῶν Βρεντεσίων τοῖσδε μὲν ὕστερον ἔδωκεν ἀτέλειαν ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν. The question has been examined in detail by B. W. Henderson (*Classical Review*, xi. p. 251 *seq.*) Holding that it is impossible to interpret ἀτέλεια in any other sense than that of exemption from *portoria*, he suggests that these dues which were universally abolished by the Lex Caecilia of 60 B.C. were reinstated probably by Nero. Trajan, however, in order to develop the commercial prosperity of the east coast of Italy, revived the gift to Brundisium of exemption from portoria which Sulla had bestowed upon it. As Strachan-Davidson suggests (Appian *B.C.* i. p. 82, note 6) it is hard to see why such a gap in the Italian customs cordon should have been allowed, but no more satisfactory explanation can be offered.

marks the conclusion of the Via Appia, but, if such were the case, the two roads would certainly meet at that spot.

THOMAS ASHBY.
ROBERT GARDNER.

NOTE.—Dr. Ashby has been mainly responsible for the topographical notes, Mr. Gardner for the literary evidence, maps and illustrations; but every point of uncertainty has been carefully discussed by both.

FRONT ELEVATION

TEMPLE OF LO SCASATO CIVITACASTELLANA

A SCHEME FOR RESTORATION FROM THE FRAGMENTS IN THE VILLA DI PAPA GIULIO III ROME AFTER THE MANNER OF VITRVVIVS

THE PLAN

THE PLAN IS DRAWN TO HALF THE SCALE OF THE ELEVATIONS THE WIDTH OF THE TEMPLE CAN BE DERIVED FROM THE SURVEY OF THE SITE AFTER EXCAVATION BY COZZA 1897 · WHERE SUPERSTRUCTURE IS LACKING IN REGARD TO THE PLAN THE RULES OF VITRVVIUS ARE FOLLOWED · THE TERRA COTTAS FOUND ON THE SITE CLEARLY INDICATE TWO PERIODS OF CONSTRUCTION · THE SMALLER SCULPTURAL FRAGMENTS WHICH EXIST APPARENTLY BELONG TO A SMALLER TEMPLE 9 METERS WIDE WHICH EXISTED ON OR NEAR THE SAME SITE · THIS LARGER ONE IS OF LATER DATE CONSTRUCTED DURING THE ROMAN OCCUPATION AND DATES ABOUT 3RD CENT BC

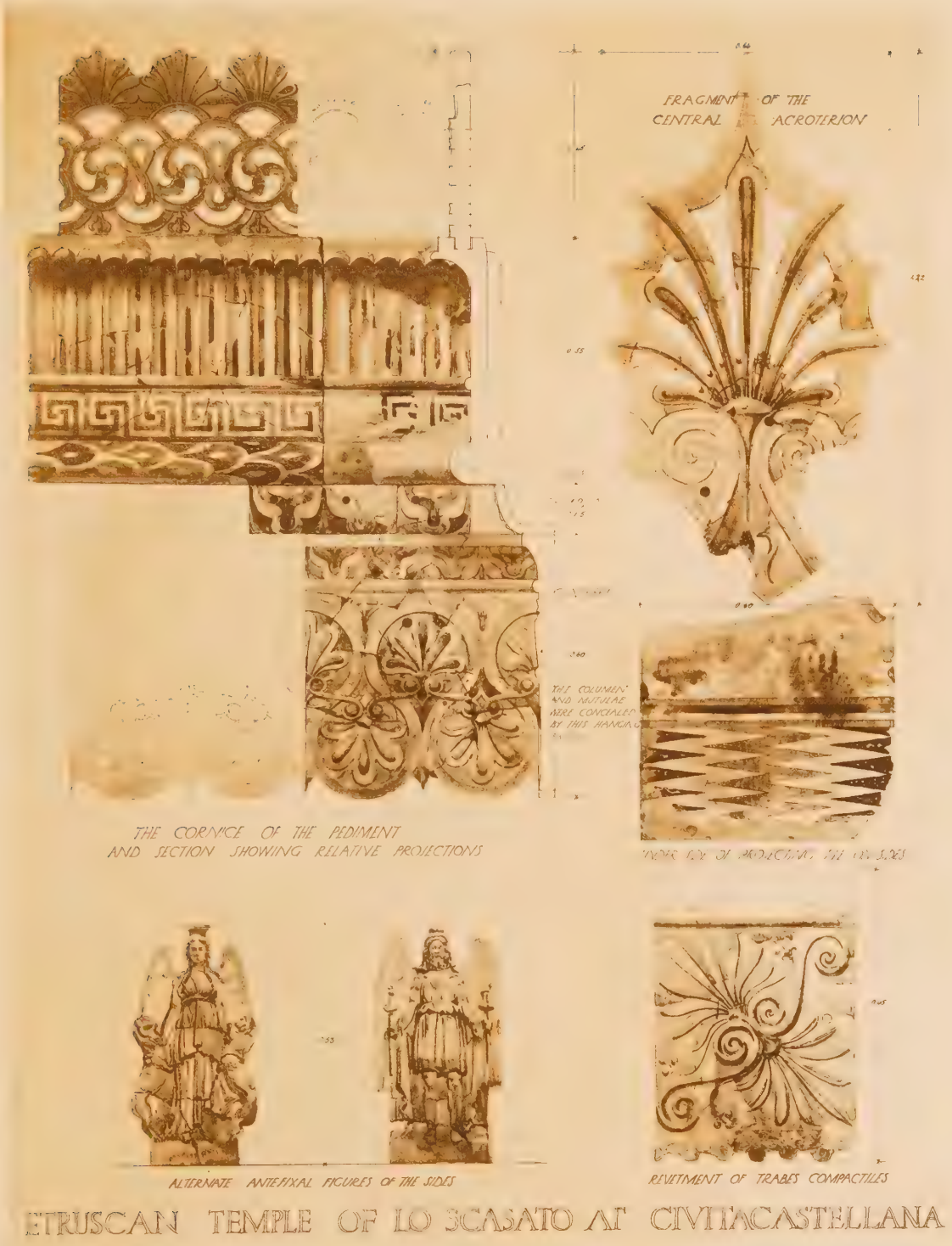
PLAN

SCALE OF METRES

THE ELEVATIONS

SUFFICIENT REVETMENTS EXIST TO INDICATE HOW THE WHOLE TEMPLE WAS ADORNED · THE END PLAQUE OF THE PEDIMENTAL FASCIA CONFIRMS THE ANGLE OF THE RAKE · THE GROOVES AND NAIL-HOLES SHOW HOW THEY WERE COMBINED AND HUNG · IN THE PEDIMENT THE COLUMEN AND MUTULAE ARE OVERHUNG BY THE LOWEST ROW OF PLAQUES NO TRACE OF PROPORTIONATE SCULPTURES FOR THE TYMPANUM ARE IN EXISTENCE · THE PROJECTION OF THE PEDIMENT AND EAVES OF SIDES, THE PROPORTION AND SPACING OF THE COLUMNS AND DOORS IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH VITRVVIUS ·

RESTORED ELEVATIONS AND PLAN OF THE LARGER TEMPLE AT FALERII.

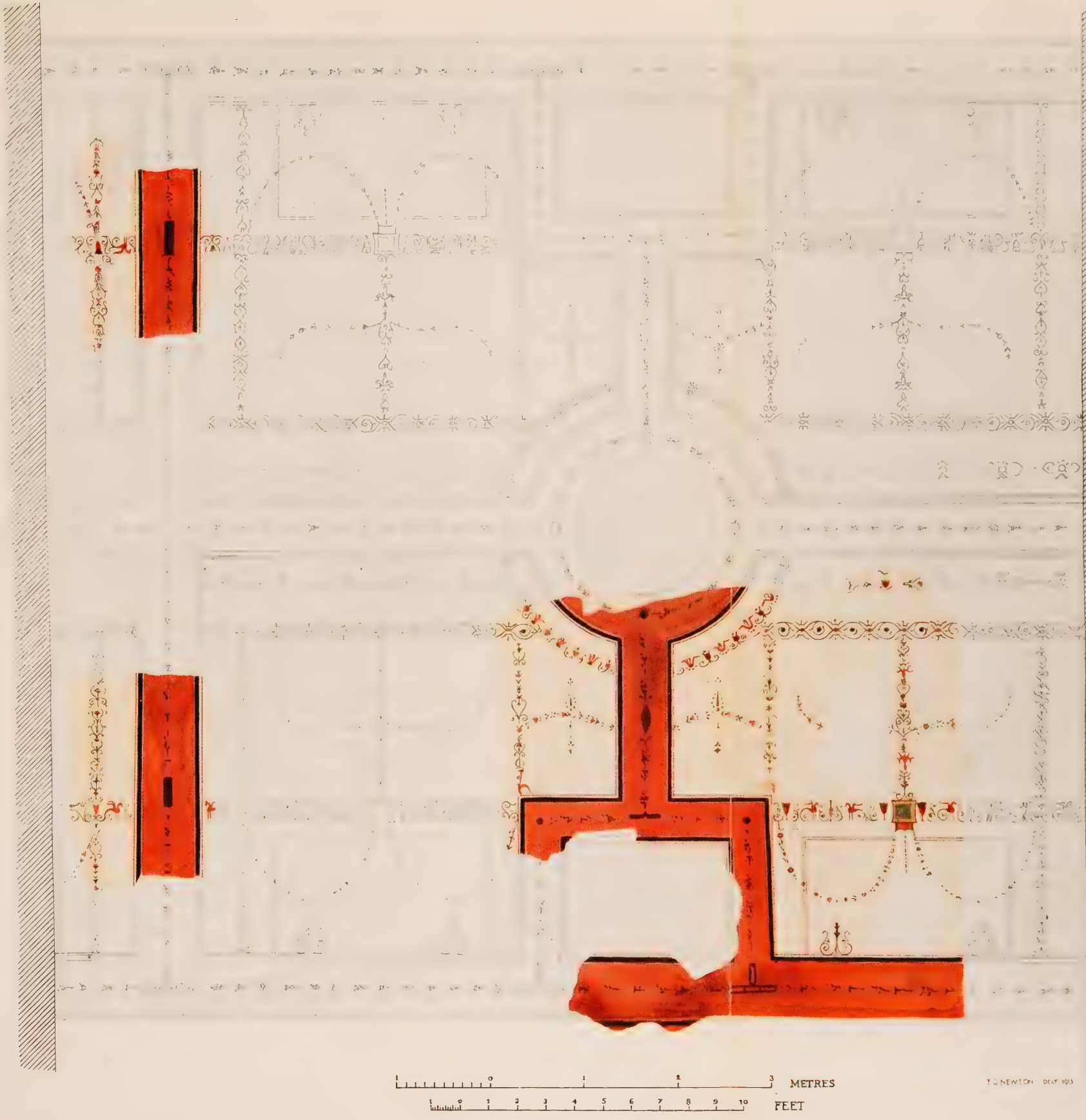

FRAGMENT OF THE CENTRAL ACROTERION
THE CORNICE OF THE PEDIMENT AND SECTION SHOWING RELATIVE PROJECTIONS
ALTERNATE ANTEFIXAL FIGURES OF THE SIDES
REVETMENT OF TRABES COMPACTILES
ETRUSCAN TEMPLE OF LO SCASATO AT CIVITACASTELLANA

ARCHITECTURAL DECORATIONS IN TERRACOTTA FROM THE LARGER TEMPLE AT FALERII.

WALL PAINTING FROM HOUSE IN VIA DE' CERCHI

WALL PAINTING FROM HOUSE IN VIA DE' CERCHI

WALL PAINTING FROM HOUSE IN VIA DE' CERCHI



CEILING PAINTING FROM HOUSE IN VIA DE' CERCHI

DETAIL OF CEILING PAINTING IN HOUSE IN VIA DE' CERCHI

DETAIL OF CEILING PAINTING IN HOUSE IN VIA DE' CERCHI

WALL PAINTING FROM HOUSE IN THE VIA DE' CERCHI

(= Plate III. centre)

WALL PAINTING FROM HOUSE IN THE VIA DE' CERCHI

(= Plate IV.)

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